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# THE ARENA

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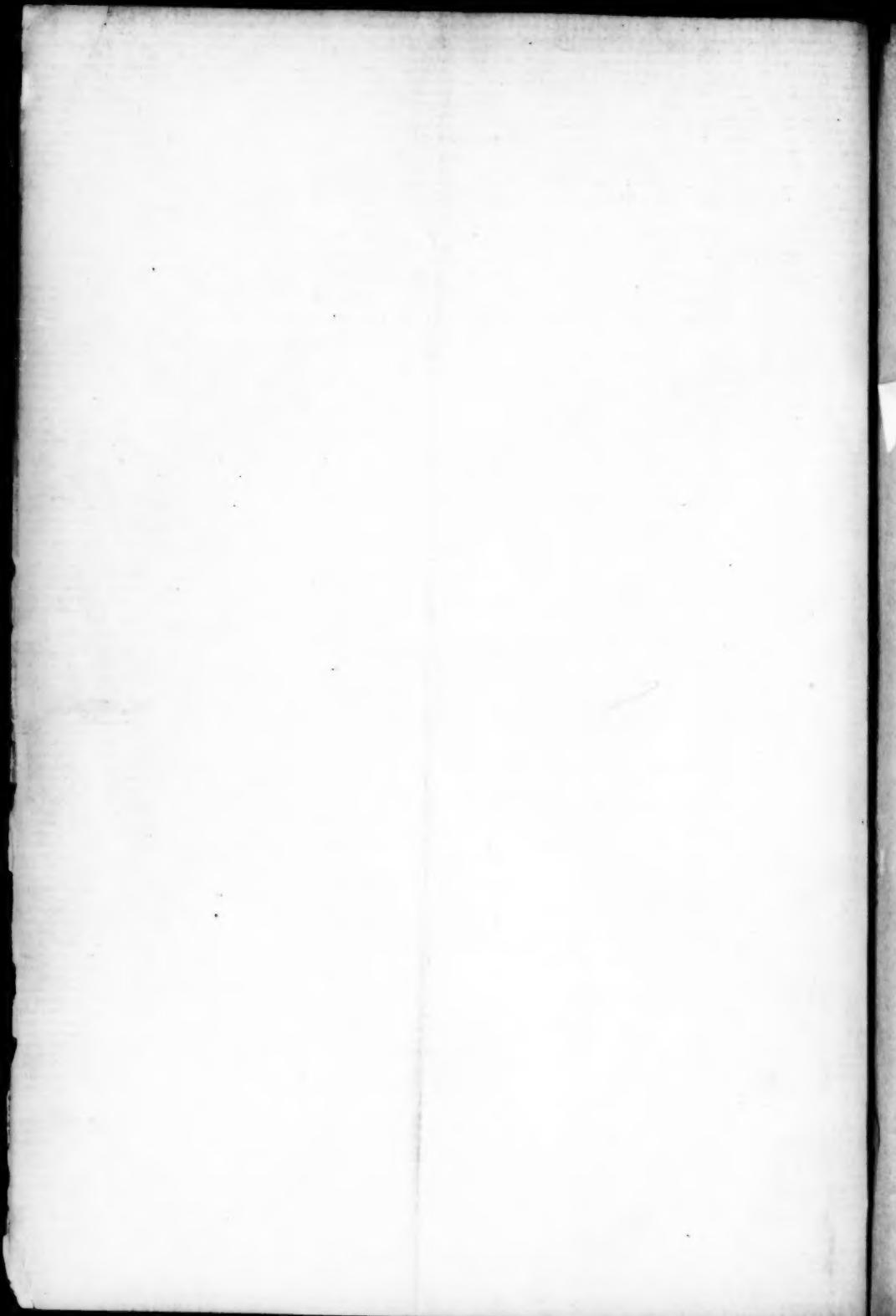
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Geo. T. Williams

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into *the arena*,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—Heine.

# THE ARENA.

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## GOVERNMENT BY BANKS.

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BY HON. GEO. FRED. WILLIAMS.

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THE Republican administration urges a battle between the banks and the people of the United States. Though the party adopted its platform and conducted its campaign in 1896 without any notice to the people of a plan to radically change the currency system of the country, it is now proposed to take advantage of a majority gained upon another question to make a change in our monetary system more radical than any which has been presented since the organization of the first bank of the United States, save the demonetization of silver in 1873. In various forms the substance of this plan appears to be to retire in whole or in part the demand notes of the Government, to substitute therefor bank promises, and to make all debts in the United States payable only in gold coin. It is also proposed to convert the legal-tender silver money of the country into a demand payable in gold. Stripped of all verbiage the scheme contemplates the abandonment by the Government of its sovereign prerogative to issue legal-tender paper, and the surrender of this power exclusively to the national banks.

Such a plan, involving a radical change in our present system, must be met in future political campaigns, and should therefore engage the earnest attention and study of every thoughtful citizen. The plan, though new, is essentially partisan, because the Democratic party, upon principle

and throughout its history, has been opposed to any grant to banks of money-issuing power, and unquestionably will oppose in solid rank a new grant of enormous and exclusive privileges in this regard to these private corporations. While there can be no doubt of Democratic opposition, certainly an appeal may be made to Republican voters to assist in the defeat of such a radical and subversive policy.

The Republican party has not yet agreed in any convention or in any election that the note-issuing power of the Government shall be exclusively delegated to the banks. Up to this time, the Republican Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives has been unable to agree upon any such measure, and the party at the polls may later signify its overwhelming disapprobation of a scheme foisted without notice upon the party by powerful special interests. In the Congressional elections of 1898 there would be an opportunity for Republicans to discountenance this new scheme without imperilling the party ascendancy, as might be the case in a Presidential election. Republican representatives may be nominated who will discountenance this policy, while they may not join with the Democratic party in any other measures.

The vital issue between monometallism and bimetallism is one of prices, but while bimetallists might be quite willing to join in any functional changes in the present system to guard the Government against its evils, all the plans which have been so far proposed not only are aimed at the forms of our present system, but also undertake to reduce silver money to a national debt, or, as Secretary Gage expresses it, "to commit the country more thoroughly to the gold standard." Bimetallists are thus directly challenged. Secretary Gage has expounded a plan which is distinctly a banker's plan, which not only furnishes no relief to the Government from its present obligations, but adds immeasurably to its burdens. To those bimetallists, therefore, who were misled in the campaign of 1896 by the empty promises of an international agreement, an appeal may now be made, not only because they were deceived by that specious promise, but because their votes are now being utilized to deliver over the

monetary system of the land to the absolute control of the moneylenders.

In the Chicago platform of 1896 this question was fore stalled in these words: "Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We, therefore, denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the Constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the Government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin."

Three plans have been presented to Congress, differing materially, though having a common purpose. One comes from a self-constituted conference at Indianapolis, another from the Secretary of the Treasury, and a third from a special sub-committee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives. The last-named plan has lately been approved by the executive committee of the Indianapolis Conference. All agree upon the creation of a separate division of the Treasury, to be called the Division of Issue and Redemption, to which shall be transferred gold coin to the amount of from \$125,000,000 to \$176,000,000, to be used for the redemption of the legal-tender notes, treasury notes of 1890, and silver dollars of the Government. It is proposed to retire wholly or in part the notes of the Government, when redeemed, in quantities equal to the bank notes to be issued in their stead. All propose eventually to dispense with the deposit of public bonds as security for bank-note issues, so that eventually the bank-note circulation shall be based on the commercial assets of the bank issuing the notes. The Indianapolis plan would dispense with the security of bonds within ten years. The House Committee's plan would base the bank issues upon assets within five years. The notes are in all cases to be a first lien upon the assets of the issuing bank, and the personal liability of the bank stockholders is secured. Redemption of the notes is to be secured by deposit with the Treasury of a redemption fund equal to

from five to ten per cent of the circulation. The Government is to guarantee the redemption of the bank notes in gold. Provisions are made for the sale of United States bonds to maintain the redemption in gold by the Government. The issue of bank notes is limited to the amount of the capital of each bank.

These are the substantial features of the three plans now before the public. Without regard to the methods or the details of either plan, the one purpose is to substitute banks for the Government in the regulation of the monetary supply, and to make the Government ultimately responsible for the redemption in gold of the entire note issues of the banks.

The opposition to this new policy is confined to the note-issue power of the bank. There is no objection to the banking system as it exists in the country in the form of State banks, private banks, and trust companies, or to the general powers conferred by the national banking system excepting the power to issue currency.

Mr. Walter Bagehot introduces his noted book entitled "Lombard Street" with the explanation that he does not use the title "Money Market" because he wishes to show that he deals with "concrete realities." "I maintain," he says, "that the money market is as concrete and real as anything else. The briefest and truest way of describing Lombard Street is to say that it is by far the greatest combination of economic power and economic delicacy that the world has ever seen. Of the greatness of the power there will be no doubt; money is economic power."

Had Mr. Bagehot lived to 1896 he would have realized the mightiness, not only of the economic power of the money market, but also of its political power. Since he wrote, the control of the money market over governments themselves has been so developed that it may be safely said that the kings of finance have more control over the war policies of the nations than monarchs and presidents themselves. That this power has regulated the administration of our national Treasury since the Civil War no one seriously denies. Its influence upon Congress has been also controlling. The New York *Tribune* did not exaggerate when in 1878 it de-

clared: "The machinery is now furnished by which in any emergency the financial corporations of the East can act together at a single day's notice with such power that no act of Congress can overcome or resist its power." The circular letter of Mr. Clews issued May 24, 1896, asserted that the count of a two-thirds vote in Congress for the free coinage of silver "would evoke in Wall Street the kind of conditions that no Congress has ever yet dared to disregard, and the cause would be overthrown at the moment when its success seemed most certain. It is this reserve power on which Wall Street is now reposing."

There is certainly much warrant in our recent history for this defiant assertion, for which, however, it would not be just to hold all the moneyed interests of our country responsible. Such utterances, however, tend to remind thoughtful citizens of the danger to our institutions which is involved in the united banking power of the Union. This mighty aggregation secures its ends most easily by controlling legislatures and executives; but in 1896 we felt its iron hand in our elections as never before. It is not denied that systematic levies were made upon financial institutions to defeat the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and in many instances loans and discounts of banks were manipulated to intimidate and punish voters.

Yet it would be an error to treat this power merely from the standpoint of danger. With the moneyed interests are bound up our whole commercial system and our industrial organization. As they are potent for evil they are potent also for good, and their regulation must remain a supreme question in our politics. It is a sad political error to make wholesale attack upon the financial agents of our land as unpatriotic and destructive, or to deem them in accord with such ill-advised utterances as that above quoted. The operation and safety of our financial institutions are included in the general policy of the Democratic party, which would keep them democratic in character and deems a correction of abuses the best conservator.

It has so long been the practice to teach our voters how helpless they are as against England's banking control, that our

people have lost sight of the mightiness of our influence in the monetary affairs of the world. The consideration of this giant force in our own political and economic affairs is becoming more and more important. Jackson dealt with one national bank; we deal with 3,600. That bank had \$28,000,000 of capital; these banks have \$630,000,000, or twenty-three times as much. The last report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows some 9,000 banking institutions in our country, representing aggregate resources of nearly \$8,000,000,000. When the people of the United States deal with their new "money power" they deal with nearly one-third of the world's banking power.

For prudential reasons the industries of to-day are conducted largely upon borrowed capital. The business credits in every city, town, and village of our land depend upon the banks. Should these institutions be encouraged to bring their full force to bear upon our politics their influence would be well-nigh irresistible.

There is, however, in our banking system an element of safety which offers much hope that careful and calm discussion will bring just conclusions. The directors of our banks are numbered by thousands; they are our neighbors and friends, and they share in the feeling of patriotism which animates our republic. They are largely business men themselves, engaged in industrial and productive enterprises. Nine-tenths of them, it may be safely asserted, are opposed to a banking system which will injure business or weaken our institutions. The majority does not even consist of bankers, but of business men who have organized under the name of a bank the local industrial forces of towns and cities. Many of them are Democrats who are eager to carry out reforms affecting the banking system itself. The country banks represent two-thirds of the total banking capital of the land, and it is well known that the country banks feel the pressure of the control which the reserve cities exercise, and they have no disposition to add monopolistic privileges which will put them more under the control of the powerful banking leaders. It is doubtful if the majority of bank directors sympathize with the policy of currency contraction,

or indeed any policy which will injure other business to favor banking, inasmuch as most of them are primarily business men and secondarily bankers.

The economic tendency of the day, whether natural or induced, is certainly toward the centralization of management and the minimizing of the individual's power. The department store has driven the retail dealer to the wall ; the trust has assumed control of our staple trades ; the monopolized railroads regulate transportation. Our whole industrial system is rapidly attaining a monopolistic character. There is every reason to believe that this tendency will ultimately possess our banking system ; already it is hastening, while the banks have only the instrument of credit with which to assert their power. Through the control of credit the business community feels its helplessness under the sway of the banks, but if now our monetary system is to be turned over to a banking trust can there be doubt that the small banks will become helpless servants of the powerful governors in this system ? With money and credits in their hands, the business of the country will be at their mercy. Who can control it ? Not the Government, for it has already abandoned its functions to them. Not the merchants, for they are dependents of the money-loaners. If the small banks rebel, they will be crushed. The amount of money, rates of interest and discount, privilege of credit, all will be under banking control. It is but another trust greater than all other trusts, a trust of trusts which exists now in comparatively feeble form, because it has not yet brought the Government fully under its control. It has owned Presidents and Secretaries, but Congress has not yet quite succumbed. To control directly the entire monetary system of the greatest nation in the world requires but the execution of the present plan ; it offers to our financial rulers one-third of the world's banking power as the greatest stake for which that power has yet played.

When Mr. Carlisle made a contract with a foreign syndicate to protect the Treasury of the United States for a given period, he but faintly outlined the picture of the gold-owners of the world in financial dictation of the destiny of this

republic. With all the money and all the credits in their power, the railroads, the great industrial trusts, the mighty speculators will govern the policy of the whole system. When war comes the banks will control the finances of the Government if the whole system now proposed be not crushed out. The great industrial trusts, the most powerful owners or patrons of the banks, will have at their mercy, as never before, the producers of this land.

The Democratic party insists that the people shall not abandon their right to control the monetary supply upon which they depend. It deems that the very class which should not be entrusted with this great responsibility is the moneylenders, who have purposes of their own which are inconsistent with the interests of the masses of the nation's producers. The moneylenders have repeatedly shown their indifference to the apparent necessity of an increasing supply of money, the lever with which to lift prices and thereby give impetus to our desponding trade.

If the bankers believe that the people of this country are now agreed that the banks are entitled above all other classes to control the monetary supply, they much misunderstand public sentiment. There is a growing feeling in the land that it is the laborer, the producer, the manufacturer, the farmer, for whom the money supply should be regulated, and who have more right to dictate in the matter than have the bankers, whose profit lies in contributions from the other classes. It is fast becoming clear that to leave with the banker the determination of the quantity of money is not only to pervert the government's function, but to deliver over the wealth-producer to the private taxgatherer. As an abstract proposition, it is much more reasonable and certainly more wise to inquire of the producer whether he is getting money of the banks at reasonable rates and in the necessary quantity, and that the Government should supply such money to the producers if the banks fail to do so. The banks have two interests in the country's money, first, to make it pay high rates of interest, and secondly, to make it grow more valuable in their possession. Both these purposes are opposed to the interests of producers, and indeed of the

country. That the moneylenders should have the monopoly seems to be the most absurd proposition to present to the voters of the republic. If bankers may control the money-supply, will they make money plentiful or scarce? One may read the arguments of Secretary Gage and of the Indianapolis Conference without enlightenment upon this point, and yet the very doubt on such a vital point is the complete condemnation of the system.

*The Textile Record* of America last January asked these pertinent questions: "Upon what grounds of equity can it be demanded that the credit of the Government should be given to banks for the profit of their stockholders, and not to manufacturing corporations for the profit of their stockholders? In what particular has a bank-owner a claim to such backing which a mill-owner does not possess?" The Farmers' Alliance long ago asked these questions, and rallied two millions of voters to demand that the Government should loan money upon goods. If the deposits of the manufacturer and farmer are now to be made liable for the note issues of the banks, the inquiry must be made, Why should the banks issue the notes rather than the producers themselves? It is not certain that the end of the agitation which the banks have now aroused will not be the absolute repudiation of any special privilege to bankers in the control of the currency system, and a reinforcement of the demand that the Government shall supply the producers of the country directly with the money necessary for their industries. The banks should be satisfied that they have stopped all increase in our currency through the repeal of the Sherman Act, and are reaping an unjust harvest through the extortions of an appreciating money.

It is alleged that money issue and redemption are in Europe largely in the control of the banks. In answer it may be said that the very considerations which warrant such a method in Europe condemn it in the United States. The great banks of the leading European states, England, France, Germany, and Russia, are single, monopolistic banks, intimately connected with the government, with the protection of the gold reserve, and the redemption of the note issues.

We have 3,600 national banks under a system of competition, each defending its own solvency and promoting its own success, regardless of the State and other banks. No single bank or, indeed, any group of banks has a motive to protect gold redemption by the government or by other banks. Apart from the note-issuing power, we have a free banking system, including 9,000 banks. The three vital functions performed by the government banks of Europe are these:

1. To control the supply of gold;
2. To supply the reserves for note redemption;
3. To maintain the money market in time of panic.

These ends are attained by the exercise of a power essentially monopolistic, and, it is respectfully submitted, are not attainable by banks under a competitive system.

1. The supply of gold in Great Britain is admittedly controlled by the regulation of the rate of discount in the Bank of England. This bank, while not strictly a government bank, governs the money market. If it is desired to stop an outpour of gold, the bank raises the value of gold by increasing the rate of interest arbitrarily; goods are thereby cheapened, and exports of goods take the place of gold exports; gold being more valuable, its import in payment of debts abroad displaces the import of goods. The other government banks of Europe adopt similar and other methods with the avowed purpose of regulating the inflow and outpour of gold.

2. The reserves for note redemption are zealously and arbitrarily guarded. The Bank of France pays silver when the money-brokers draw too heavily on the gold fund. The Bank of Germany compels the brokers to desist from gold exports, through the power it has over the credit of the money-dealers. Suffice it that in the struggle for gold each of the great banks sees to it that the metallic reserve is not depleted. Some of the methods are mysterious, but the end is fairly accomplished.

3. The money market is maintained in time of panics through these state banks if at all. In this regard there is a fatal weakness in our competitive system.

Panics arise from the contraction either of the money

supply or of credits. When the process of contraction begins, apprehension of danger gives impetus to the movement. This apprehension will grow to disastrous panic if the process be not checked, and it is clear that the only possible check is the free supply of money or credit.

Mr. Bagehot covers the matter thus: "Whatever bank or banks keep the ultimate banking reserve of the country must lend that reserve most freely in time of apprehension." And he adds: "The strain thrown by a panic on the final bank reserve is proportional to the magnitude of a country's commerce and to the number and size of the dependent banks." In the panic of 1825 the Bank of England loaned money even on goods. In 1857 it increased its loans heavily on securities. In 1866, when the great panic opened, the Bank had but \$29,000,000, but in a week it had loaned \$65,000,000, and the total increase of its loans was \$75,000,000. When the collapse of Argentine securities ruined the Barings in 1890, the Bank borrowed \$15,000,000 of gold from the Bank of France, and saved England from a crisis. The Peel act restricts the note issues of the Bank of England, but it has had to be suspended several times to avert panic.

Let us now apply these three operations of the European state banks to our national system, treating them in the reverse of the above order.

Our competitive system, in the first place, is a breeder and not a healer of panics. Be it a currency or credit panic, each bank looks to its own safety. It strengthens its cash reserves and contracts its loans, that it be not caught in the storm. This terrible operation was seen in 1893. The national banks called in loans to the amount of \$320,000,000, and increased their cash reserves. Ruin followed in the path of this process. The report of the Treasurer of the United States in 1873 shows the same history: "Suddenly there began a rapid calling in of demand loans, and a very general run on the banks for the withdrawal of deposits." A striking commentary on the present efforts of the banks to discredit the government notes appears in the official report that, "In this condition of things great pressure was brought to bear upon the Treasury Department to afford relief by the

issue of United States notes." The banks begged for \$20,000,000 in United States notes on pledge of clearing-house certificates, with securities. The Treasury declined for want of power, but finally supplied \$13,000,000 by purchase of bonds for the sinking fund. The Secretary of the Treasury reported: "The currency paid out of the Treasury for bonds did much to strengthen many savings banks and to prevent a panic among their numerous depositors." All this occurred while the banks had power to issue notes secured by United States bonds.

The proposition to entrust the whole monetary supply to the banks opens up terrible possibilities of panic, which may well give pause to the bankers themselves. Suppose ourselves dependent upon gold alone for redemption, and that the banks have issued notes upon their assets to supply the country with currency. They have now a liability which did not exist before; they must find gold for their note redemption. With heavy gold exports, or a shortage from any cause, the banks must begin to strengthen their gold redemption-fund to secure their own solvency. This process will tend to the hoarding of gold and to speculations in gold, and depositors will be driven to withdrawals lest the bank's assets be held for note redemption on a suspension of specie payments by the banks. Out of several thousand banks some are sure to be caught in such a movement. The Treasury report for 1873 says: "The suspension of certain large banking houses alarmed the people as to the safety of banks and banking institutions in general." If this feeling opened the panic of 1873, what will be our security when banks are issuing notes on their assets, and depending for redemption upon gold alone? May it not fairly be said that, even if this new system is honestly devised to relieve the government, it will at least weaken the public confidence in the banks themselves in time of distrust. The panic process, once started, has nothing to check it; it feeds upon itself. When the incautious banks begin to go to the wall for lack of gold reserve to redeem their notes, the strong banks must follow. The depositors, whose funds are now made liable for notes, will hasten the crash.

Here we realize the difference between the Bank of England, one great responsible reserve agent, backed by the government, on the one hand, and 4,000 separate banks struggling with each other for reserve funds. The strength of the system must be measured by that of its weakest member. In the name of our national solvency, let Secretary Gage consider whither he is leading us. Business men and bankers alike should beg him to take further advice upon his doubtful plan of creating banknotes which shall not be legal tender in payment of debt. Clearly, when the banks are fighting for gold, none can be had by the business community. When the weak banks begin to suspend specie payments, distrust in the banknotes will set in, and as the banknotes are not legal tender, a money panic must ensue such as the world has never seen. Yet Secretary Gage proposes to retire a part of the legal-tender notes of the government and substitute mere bank promises, which, in his words, "ought not to be endowed with any artificial power, except that which goes with the promise to pay money."

But, with these developments, where stands the Government, which the new system purports to protect?

Behind the banknotes stands the credit of the Government. But even with this credit can it be said that the banknote will be "endowed with any artificial power" save that of a promise to pay gold? The promise of the government is, it must be remembered, to redeem these banknotes in gold, while the system proposes to strip the Government of its present necessity of preserving a gold redemption-fund; that is the ostensible purpose of the whole scheme. Yet, when the banks suspend specie payments, the United States must also suspend specie payments on the same notes.

So, moving in the fatal circle, we come back to the ultimate responsibility of the Government. Yet the new system strips the Government of its self-protection, while it invites panic by trusting thousands of banks to do a business which a great single monopolistic bank does with fear and trembling.

Hastening to the second function of the European bank, which has been mentioned above, we inquire, What bank or banks will undertake to supply the reserves for note redemp-

tion, for the Government will be no longer in the business ? The answer will naturally be made, that the great New York clearing-house banks will undertake this work. They must, then, provide gold for the redemption of all the banknotes of the country. It may be asked, first, whether they have the power to do it, and, second, whether the other banks of the nation desire to trust them with such work or with such power. And here develops the serious question which the country banks must consider. They are now seriously dependent upon the New York banks, merely through the potency of their control over credits ; will not dependence be converted into slavery when the New York banks control the redemption fund for all banknotes ?

It may safely be said that, if banks will issue notes at all under the system proposed by Secretary Gage, the country banks will be the main issuers. Indeed it is claimed for this system that it will relieve the agricultural sections and supply money for moving the crops. The note-issuing potency of the country banks is also greater than that of the city banks, as their capital is as two to one. By the Comptroller's report of 1892 the Chemical National Bank of New York City has a capital of \$300,000, with deposits of \$23,000,000 ; the Dedham National Bank of Massachusetts has a capital of \$300,000, with deposits of \$250,000. The Chemical Bank held specie and legal-tender notes of \$8,000,000, and the Dedham Bank held \$30,000. The limit of note issue under the proposed system is \$300,000 for each bank. No one dreams that under the new system the Chemical Bank will give up a dollar of its specie reserve to accomodate the Dedham Bank. If the Dedham Bank issued its full amount of notes it would have ten per cent of money with which to redeem them, while the Chemical Bank would have 2,667 per cent. We may fairly ask whether the Dedham Bank would issue any notes under such circumstances, and in this question is bound up the all-important query, whether the proposed system will add materially to the currency of the country. At least the above disparity between note-issuing power and cash reserve suggests how absurd is the claim that the only consideration in the note issues of the banks will be the

"needs of trade ;" a phrase which runs smoothly from the financier's tongue, but may mean nothing in practice.

In the matter of credits the Dedham Bank is now much affected by the New York banks ; if it shall issue notes to be redeemed in gold it will find itself more dependent on the New York banks for its solvency than is any business man now dependent on his line of credit from the bank. But if, as is alluringly held forth, the country banks shall pour out their notes, enlarge the currency, and thus relieve trade, clearly they must all be kept solvent, or panic may set in. If they are not able to redeem their notes, they fail ; and if a few thus fail, apprehension will set in, and, as in 1873, their suspension will "alarm the people as to the safety of banks and banking institutions in general."

It must be shown where the country bank, like the Dedham Bank, shall in time of need secure gold. No one doubts that the Chemical and other New York banks will control the gold fund. If the syndicate of 1894 and 1895 could corner gold to drive the government to bond issues, the small banks will surely be more helpless than the government. They will not be shown mercy by the speculators of Wall Street or Lombard Street. Let this point be cleared up in fairness to trade and the trade banks.

The solvency of all English banks and trade is admittedly dependent on the soundness of the Bank of England and its readiness to supply the money or credit to sustain the market and to redeem its notes.

If this reliance can be placed nowhere in our country, the system proposed must fail ; if the New York banks are to exercise this function, it will be dangerous to the whole banking system, to trade and commerce, to the Government itself. We may fairly object to have such a power lodged in the center of speculation and syndicate influence. Mature reflection must satisfy the business community that there is no power in our country fitted to maintain the reserve for banknote redemption, if banks be allowed to issue notes upon their assets.

The third and equally important branch of our inquiry is the control of the supply of gold in the United States.

If European banks raise the rate of discount, pay silver instead of gold, or control the bullion-brokers, these methods are not open under the system now proposed for the United States. Competing banks cannot and will not fix their discounts except to suit their own business. The truth may as well be faced before we reach disaster, that the United States have been, are, and will remain the reservoir from which the world draws gold at will. The reason is that we are a debtor nation and persistent borrowers. The authors of our new banking scheme deem it the height of national success when we can borrow money abroad. There are those who think we should be better off if we could not borrow another dollar in Europe.

But Europe holding our debts, estimated at \$5,000,000,000, will for a generation at least be able to throw our securities into the market in lieu of money whenever the balance of trade is in our favor. If an individual were deeply indebted to a neighbor, it would be regarded as foolhardy if he based his financial plans on his ability to force that neighbor at will to pay him money on demand. It is not otherwise with nations. Secretary Gage and his banker associates have devised their new system under the claim that they thereby relieve the government of the "endless chain," as it is called. The claim is so empty as to excite suspicion of its sincerity. The plan may deceive, but it will not relieve the Government. The Secretary proposes to retire \$200,000,000 greenbacks, and in the same breath adds the whole supply of silver dollars to the obligations which are to be redeemed in gold. \$450,000,000, which have heretofore been called assets, are to be made debts calling for gold. Under the Gage plan, therefore, the Government is loaded with \$250,000,000 more of gold obligations than it bears now. If it be charged that Secretary Gage has the main purpose of degrading silver, while he puts the government Treasury and the people at the mercy of the banks, his own plans furnish the best argument to support the charge.

No subterfuges or devices will cover the fact that the new plans will enable the foreign bankers to draw gold from the government Treasury as freely as they did before. If Rus-

sia, Austria, or Hungary wants \$100,000,000, they have but to take our legal-tender money to the Treasury and demand gold for export. It amounts to deception to hold out to a confiding people that this process is to be stopped. It will be even easier than before, because the silver-dollar fund has been added to the endless chain.

It must be admitted that it is a pitiable condition of the United States Treasury, when a suction pipe runs to Europe, through which the precious gold may be drawn at will. But the bankers, Secretaries, and Congressional Committees may be challenged to devise a plan which will stop it; it must continue so long as this debtor nation undertakes to maintain the gold standard or even the exclusive gold basis. We have sold \$262,000,000 in bonds, not for the good of our own people, but to supply Europe with gold and investments. We shall remain in misery and doubt so long as we maintain a system which we cannot control to benefit our people, but which will enable Europe to throw us into a panic at any time. In the mad rush for gold, our country cannot control its own monetary system, unless it stops the craze for gold by putting silver again at its side. When this is done America will at least be free.

It must not be forgotten that if the United States now attempts the exclusive gold basis for its currency and its trade, its added demand will force prices still lower; and only wise Providence can foresee the consequences. That we must have more gold under the new plan is evident. Our banking power to-day is one-half that of all Europe. The European banks now hold \$3,000,000,000 of gold, silver, specie, and other currency; on this basis our banks should hold \$1,500,000,000, or more than the entire amount of our currency. Our banks, national and State, savings banks, loan and trust companies, private banks, 9,457 in number, show by the Comptroller's last report but \$628,200,000 of cash.

It is true that the European banks have heavy obligations for banknotes, but if we are now to enter upon the same policy it is not unfair to say that our necessity for ultimate-redemption money should be measured according to our banking power. According to our last Treasury report,

Europe has over \$3,000,000,000 in gold. By this standard our requirement would be \$1,500,000,000; we have not one-third of this in the country to-day.

To talk of getting \$1,000,000,000 in gold is to rave. We have exported \$300,000,000 net in gold from 1888 to 1898. The people have a right to know from the financiers how this process is to be reversed. Yet they do not vouchsafe an answer. One thing alone is certain: gold can only come to us steadily through a reduction in the price of goods, which must be continued to meet reductions abroad. Heaven save us from this process! In truth, the movement of gold toward Europe is a mystery even to our financiers. The old "ebb and flow according to the needs of trade" is an exploded idea. Even the exchanges furnish no guide. Mr. Ottomer Haupt, a financial expert, condemns Mr. Goschen for issuing a new edition of his "Theory of Foreign Exchanges" without attempting an explanation of the operation of the Lazard Frères, which took \$35,000,000 in gold from the United States to France in 1891 in the teeth of adverse exchanges. Mr. Haupt challenges Mr. Léon Say, the translator of Mr. Goschen's book, to reassert the old theory, that raising the rate of discount is the only method of attracting foreign gold. As Mr. Haupt observes, "The operation may be repeated at any time."

But how Europe gets our gold may be explained more easily than how we shall get the gold of Europe. Yet if we are to be dependent upon gold, we must have some method of retaining it. To depend upon our crops is to make our monetary system vary with the rainfall, and follow anxiously the frost and the locust. In 1898, with a good crop and high prices, we import gold; we put it into our business. In 1899 we export gold, and enterprise is checked. Yet our Secretary of the Treasury cannot question that with his plan this dependence will continue. He and his school have taught us that paper money drives out gold; will an increase of bank paper operate otherwise than an increase of government paper? Yet, except under a promise of expansion, the new plan could not secure a decent minority in Congress. Even with the new method, banks must still be governed by

their necessities. If gold exports ensue, the anxiety of the banks for their note redemption will cause not only competition for gold, but a steady withdrawal of banknote circulation. Contraction by both gold exports and note retirement will tend to panic. England suspends the Peel act in time of need, and increases note circulation; is it to be supposed that our banks will increase their liabilities in time of panic?

In truth, this whole scheme of turning over our business, our currency, and our Treasury to the manipulation of the banks is full of cracks and rottenness, and will not float. It is not wonderful that even the Republican members of the Committee on Banking and Currency cannot agree. Probably the plan is a mere counter-attack to impede the march of bimetallism, which is for the people's interest, and seeks to free us from banking and foreign control.

Let the bankers go about their business of banking, and we, the people, will try, in our humble way, to do the governing. The people are more interested in the money question as it affects the prices of goods; a reversal of deadly contraction and falling prices is demanded. The money-sellers, who would make money scarce, are the last persons to be trusted with this work.

The people are satisfied with the quality of their government money, and do not heed the cry of "Wolf." For twenty years none of our money has been at a discount; our silver dollar, never. The bankers ignore the quantity of money, so vital to business, and are distressed about the quality. Therefore they propose to substitute bank promises for government promises — a palpable absurdity. They propose to run their own race, with the government guaranty that no one shall lose.

Without disrespect, it would seem that some other motive than soundness of money is behind their scheme. For the prize of controlling the money system of this mighty republic, the banks should be able to spread more honey with the gum. The people will laugh the whole plan out of court, and when there is any legislation concerning banks it will be to take from their powers, not to add to them. Government by banks will not flourish upon our republican soil.

## THE ARGUMENT WITH GUNS.

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BY PROFESSOR FRANK PARSONS.

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**S**OME people can be reasoned with, while others have to be knocked down before they can understand; some have to be hammered a great many times before they will entertain a suspicion that they are wrong or out of adjustment with their environment; and a few never dream that they are in error, no matter what number of bumps they get, but die with the fixed belief that it is not themselves but the universe which is out of order.

Spain seems almost impervious to any argument less emphatic than a cannon ball, and it is not clear that she can understand even that. It is certain that the larger part of the Spanish people and a considerable number of persons in other countries of Europe do not understand our motives in this war, or the forces behind us. These people appear to think it is lust for land that moves America to take up arms in the Cuban cause, or at best it is vengeance for the loss of the Maine. Such misjudgments merely show how little these people know about us or about the deep, strong current, the powerful movement, toward democracy that fills the century and sweeps the nations onward in its tide.

The love of liberty and the growing power of sympathy and humanity are the underlying efficient causes of our intervention in the Cuban War for independence. We know so well the benefits of even an imperfect political freedom, and our sympathy with others who are struggling for their liberty is so great, that we are willing to fight if need be that another people, who give promise of ability to learn the art of self-government, may enjoy the blessings of liberty we value so highly for ourselves. So far from the truth is the thought which attributes the war to a territorial motive, that no one who knows our people well will doubt for a moment that the great mass of them would regard the addition of Cuba as an undesirable burden. We have problems enough already

without undertaking new responsibilities. Commercial and monetary interests did not urge the war, but opposed it. It is true that the destruction of the Maine had an influence in causing intervention, but only as the match which ignites the charge; it is not the match but the powder that hurls the shell from the cannon's mouth; and it was not the Maine that hurled the United States against the Spanish despotism in Cuba, but the passionate love of liberty and democracy that has formed the dominant force of the nineteenth century in every civilized country, especially in America, together with the unfolding might of that wide, deep sympathy which we hope will form the dominant force of the twentieth century.

There is strong reason to believe that the people of this country would have voted overwhelmingly in favor of intervention months, perhaps years, before the Maine was destroyed. It was difficult to find an audience outside of Congress that would not vigorously applaud a proposition to aid Cuba. Reason and sentiment combined to make our people approve the movement. America stands for liberty and self-government. To aid the cause of Cuban independence is to aid our own cause, to help the spread of the ideas and institutions we believe in, and to check the power of those who would banish such ideas and institutions from the world. We were helped in our own battle for independence, and simple fairness and the Golden Rule would make us lend a hand to others battling for the rights of manhood.

Congress may have made too much of the Maine disaster (as they made too little of the reasons for intervention in the past), but the people have not done so. And even with Congress a moment's consideration will show that the Maine was only an incident, not the real cause of war, as some objectors are proclaiming. If a Federal war ship had been in a harbor of Great Britain, or France, or Germany, or any other well-behaved power, against whom no prior cause of complaint existed, and its government had disclaimed any connection with the affair and offered to arbitrate, there is not the slightest doubt that that would have ended the matter. Spain did disclaim and did offer to arbitrate. It is probable that the Spanish government did not order the destruction of the ship.

It would have been an almost inconceivably foolish thing for Spain to do. The destruction of a vessel in a foreign port is not of itself a cause of war, but the strong presumption of foul play with the Maine upon the findings of our commission, added to all the other factors of the case, directed sufficient attention to the Cuban situation to bring the pent-up forces of remonstrance into vigorous play. It was the last straw that broke the camel's back, the last ounce that turned the lever at the dam and let the imprisoned waters move, the last abuse that unlocked the doors of speech and allowed the already indignant man to speak his mind. Under the circumstances, damages for the Maine by arbitration or otherwise cannot touch the case. The Maine disaster is only one of a long series of atrocities, showing a condition of things in Cuba which cannot be tolerated. Damages for the Maine would not remove this condition of things; only the withdrawal of Spain will accomplish that, wherefore we demand the said withdrawal, and Spain refusing, we proceed to argue the matter with our guns, for liberty, justice, and humanity demand that the said condition of things shall cease.

It may be that Congress was too hasty at the last. If the Federal Legislature had simply empowered the President to use the military power of the nation in the Cuban cause, and then left the case to his discretion, it is just possible that his cool diplomacy, with the power of instant action behind it, together with the pressure of European governments, might in a little time have enabled Spain to think of some excuse for evacuating Cuba that would save her "honor" harmless. It is also possible that a recognition of Cuban independence might have given the Cuban insurgents a new strength that would have enabled them to drive out the Spaniards without armed intervention by the United States. The probability is, however, that war with Spain was unavoidable, and that preliminaries were comparatively unimportant.

Here and there we find a man who opposes the war on general grounds. It is not difficult to frame a number of plausible objections, some of which we may state as follows:

1. "We did not interfere to stop Turkish atrocities in Armenia, why should we interfere to stop Spanish atrocities in

Cuba? We have a large contract on hand if we are going to prevent all inhumanity in this world."

Our government did not stop the Armenian outrages because it was not practicable. Distance, the certainty of European opposition to our intervention in Armenia, and the absence of any definite, thoroughly awakened public opinion combined to make such intervention impracticable. It is not our duty, without qualification, to stop inhumanity; our duty is only to stop inhumanity when it is practicable to do so—to stop it when we can. Some may say that the Monroe Doctrine, fairly interpreted, would keep us from intervention in Old World affairs. If Europe is not to meddle here, we ought not to meddle there. There is force in this, but it is far from conclusive. The action of President Monroe was most admirable under the circumstances then existing, but it will not do to transform it into a cast-iron rule to govern all the future, regardless of the justices and humanities of particular cases. It is good as a general guide, but should not override the equities of a possible exception.

2. "Distance," it may be said, "is not an excuse. The argument from adjacency will not answer, for revolution after revolution has occurred just over our border, and we did not lift a finger in the cause of freedom and humanity. If the nearness of Cuba is a reason for intervention, why was not the nearness of Mexico a reason for intervention in her case?"

It was, if occasion for intervention existed. We are not bound to interfere whenever there is a revolution in a neighboring country. Distance is not the only thing to be considered; need, ability, etc., must also be taken into account. 1st. We were far less able to intervene successfully seventy or eighty years ago than we are now. 2nd. The conclusion that Mexico was able to throw off the Spanish yoke without our armed assistance was fully justified by the event. 3rd. It is not true that we did not lift a finger to help. It was during the Mexican struggle that the Monroe Doctrine was announced. France was going to send an army into Mexico to aid the Spaniards in subduing the revolt. President Monroe declared that such action would be regarded as inimical to the United States, and the French did not come. 4th. Even

supposing it had been our duty to send an army into Mexico in the twenties, the failure to perform that duty would be no excuse for failure to perform our present duty.

3. "There is a great deal of talk about the reconcentrados and the devastation in Cuba, but the fact is that such things are to be expected in war. Even in our Civil War orders were given to lay waste wide areas; whole valleys, in fact; and the inhabitants had to shift for themselves."

If anything was done in our Civil War approaching the horrors of the Spanish war in Cuba, it does not make the Cuban atrocities any better or more endurable; it is simply so much the worse for the men who were responsible for the American iniquities.

4. "If the Spanish were driven out, the Cubans might get to fighting among themselves, and have even a worse time than under the present control."

Yes, that *may* be, but it is not likely. A man with a very bad tooth which he is trying to get rid of *may* have the smallpox, or nervous prostration, or get struck by lightning right after the tooth is pulled, but it would not be wise to keep the tooth because of that contingency.

5. "Democracy is not a panacea. It is not every people who are fit for democracy. A certain stage of evolution must be reached before a nation is fit for free institutions. It is not at all certain that Cuba has reached the stage of development that would enable her to make a success of democracy."

True, but she has a right to try it and see. It is only by trial that she can become fit. And even if she could not handle democratic institutions any better than some of our big cities, it does not follow that she ought to stay under the heel of Spain. Even if she had to have a king, she might have a home king instead of an absentee—a king of her own choice instead of a foreign military despot, delegating his arbitrary power to barbarous underlings like Weyler.

6. "It is not just to act forcefully without a fair hearing of both sides of the controversy before an impartial tribunal. It is not right for Mr. A. to take matters into his own hands and pitch into Mr. S. without an impartial hearing; and the

same thing is true of nations. Disputes should be decided by reason and judgment, not by force of arms."

So far as abstract justice is concerned the proposition is true, and it constitutes a powerful argument for the establishment of an international court of arbitration that shall have the sanction of the whole civilized world behind it. It would have been a splendid thing in this Cuban case if a court could have been organized that would have had the confidence of both parties, and power to decide Spain's future relation to Cuba, after a hearing of all the interests involved. The trouble is the same as with the first objection—impracticability. Very likely arbitration would have been urged if those in control had deemed it practicable. But the improbability under existing circumstances of obtaining a suitable court, or Spanish consent, or adherence to the verdict if it were against them, and the time required to examine witnesses and come to a conclusion would have made arbitration, in all probability, simply a means of prolonging the evils of Spanish control in Cuba.

7. "The same pleas that are urged for intervention in Cuba were made for European intervention in favor of the South during our Civil War."

If so, the pleas were sadly out of joint, for the North was not carrying on inhuman warfare or violating the laws of nations or the laws of justice and humanity, and the South was not fighting for liberty, but against it; not for self-government, but for the privilege of denying self-government to the negro; not for freedom and democracy, but for slavery. Intervention for the South would not have been like intervention for Cuba, but like intervention for Spain.

War is a terrible thing, and no man ought to vote for it till he is so sure that it is just and necessary that he would be willing to march in the front rank of the battle himself. But when it is just and necessary it may be a most beneficent means of progress; and while this war will doubtless have some detrimental consequences, it will also have many good results besides the accomplishment of its immediate objects. It will intensify the sympathy and the love of liberty that are its efficient causes. It will bring our people closer together. It has already disclosed the real nobility of many of our wealthy

men and even some of our great corporations. The rich and the poor will understand each other better, and the solution of industrial troubles will be easier, though it may take longer through the war's delay. And, last but not least, the nations that stand for liberty and progress may be drawn together into a world-wide union which in the twentieth century may establish international courts, bring about the disarmament of Europe, and usher in the glorious age of which Tennyson dreamed in "Locksley Hall":

"When the war drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World."

## MR. GODKIN AND THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY.

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BY PROFESSOR HENRY S. GREEN,

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MR. GODKIN is the Celsus of the new economic gospel. In "Problems of Democracy" and in recent magazine articles, he has made an attempt to rehabilitate those two venerable dummies of the "Smithianismus," the economic man and the Malthusian scarecrow. Critic of the new political economy and apologist for the old, his office recalls that which the learned pagan of the second century tried to perform for the "crafty son of Chronos." The earlier philosopher saw a new religion pushing its way up through the social strata like a dyke of trap rock through beds of sandstone. The movement had produced among the masses profound discontent with themselves and with their condition; but it had ceased to be merely an undefined agitation of the depths and was beginning to give surface indications. Men of wealth and culture were falling victims to the iridescent delusions of the dreamers. Marcion, the capitalist, and Irenæus, the scholar, though by no means agreeing one with the other, were each formulating the "vaguest and wildest schemes for human regeneration." So Mr. Godkin finds the "young college professors, benevolent clergymen, and other prophets and disciples of an industrial millennium" running after the new political economy. The realization of the dreams of the Christians in the actual prose of life seemed to Celsus to imply drafts on human nature which could never be honored; and he treated the absurdities and disordered fancies of the new system with broken doses of argument and ridicule, such as are familiar to readers of Mr. Godkin's economic essays. To the ancient as to the modern critic, the net result of the agitation in question seemed to be a distinctly deeper and uglier tinge to an already alarming popular discontent. Each attributes the origin of this discontent to the teaching and preaching of pestilent

agitators—the Karl Marx and Lassalle of his own century. No intimation of the real force underlying such movements, the *Zeitgeist*, the upward-striving human impulse, seems ever to have dawned upon either philosopher.

Our modern Celsus finds a period of upheaval in the economic world. The discontent of the masses no longer takes the direction of revolt against religious or political tyranny. It is the same confused sense of wrong and discomfort, often prompting to irrational and unpromising measures for relief and escape; but the storm-centre has shifted to the industrial quarter. All sorts of “vague and wild schemes for human regeneration on an economic basis” are afloat on the tides of thought. Symptoms of disturbance are evident throughout the social organism, and are not seldom aggravated by ill-considered utterances of cultured and scholarly men. Those fetiches of the old political economy, the economic man, the Malthusian doctrine, the wage-fund theory, victims of an image-breaking campaign, are sadly disfigured by the iconoclastic criticism of the new school. Nor have they been thus roughly handled by the Goths and Vandals of ignorance and fanaticism alone. Mr. Godkin complains that even an eminent economist, the late Professor Walker, has admitted in a public address the need of modification of some of the hypotheses of the science of political economy to meet the facts of human nature.

One of these hypotheses to which the historical school has made most strenuous objection is Ricardo's economic man. This battered effigy, in the condition of an old Jove which some image-breaker has made ready for the lime-kiln, Mr. Godkin has rescued from the dust heap of the arena of discussion. The “restoration” is a great success in the opinion of our archaeologist, and he insists that it shall do duty as a “good and useful working hypothesis for scientific purposes” in political economy.

The economic man is impelled, as all know, by two motives, the desire for wealth and the desire to escape effort. The resultant movement of this engaging automaton is as easy to compute as that of a billiard ball on a level table. Indeed Mr. Godkin expressly approves of the old comparison of this

economic hypothesis with the first law of motion. Yet the analogy is by no means beyond criticism. The billiard ball is set in motion by an external impulse. In a vacuum and freed from the attraction of gravitation, it doubtless tends to move in a straight line; and this, as Mr. Godkin says, is a useful hypothesis in physics. But to make the analogy applicable to the case of the economic man, the billiard ball should be set in motion by a resident force, not constant in its operation but intermittent, not constant in quantity but variable. In fact it should be controlled by a complex coördination of such forces, prompting it to move in spirals, circles, broken lines—to plunge into the depths and ascend the heights. How far will the first law of motion serve as a working hypothesis for *à priori* deductions about the movements of a billiard ball of this kind? The fact that the forces which sway the economic man are resident, complex, and variable renders the comparison of this hypothesis with the first law of motion absurd, though Mr. Godkin says: "The comparison is as good as when it was first made." ("Problems of Democracy," p. 161.) "The fact that he [the economic man] is not humane or God-fearing no more affects his usefulness for scientific purposes than the fact that the first law of motion would carry a cannon ball through a poor man's cottage." (*Ibid.* p. 162.) The quarrel of the historical school with the Ricardians over this economic man is not, as Mr. Godkin here supposes, because he is not humane or God-fearing, but because he is not a true hypothesis, because he does not correspond to known facts, and this it is which "affects his usefulness for scientific purposes." Neither would the first law of motion be a true hypothesis, nor would it carry the cannon ball through the cottage, if such cannon ball were controlled by resident forces, among which humanity and the fear of God were paramount. The objection of economists to-day to the economic man is precisely that which astronomers would make to a Ptolemaic hypothesis in astronomy, or geographers to a Homeric hypothesis of the ocean.

That the writers of the new school concern themselves "more about the will of God, and about duty and the moral sources of happiness than the old economists" ("Problems,"

p. 167), is because they recognize the fact that the religious, ethical, and social impulses are forces coördinate with the desire to gain wealth and to avoid effort in determining the conduct of man, economic or otherwise. The beautiful simplicity of the Ricardian hypothesis seems to commend it to Mr. Godkin: "And the more complicated the facts of the industrial and social world are, the more necessary to the economist the economic man is, in order to enable him to steer his way through the maze." (*Ibid.* p. 166.) So, no doubt, a lunar theory of the phenomena of tidal action, which should leave entirely out of the account all solar influence, would be less intricate; but would it be a good working hypothesis "for scientific purposes"? That view of man as a wealth-getting animal, which ignores his social tendencies and all the facts of his moral nature, is not likely to be of much service to the economist of the future. And this is not because of any sentimental or religious or political propensities on the part of the new school, but simply because it is far more scientific to deal with the real man, the man of history and experience, than with the archaic fragment which Mr. Godkin has labored so assiduously to restore.

It is with apparently less confidence that our apologist exhibits the forbidding features of those more repulsive deities which his explorations have rescued from the ruins of the old school, the Malthusian doctrine and the diminishing return. "Statistics," he says, "show readily that, thus far, subsistence increases more rapidly than population, and this does much to cheer up the optimists and the revilers of Malthus." ("Problems," p. 241.) None of the cheer of these statistics, however, penetrates the gloom of Mr. Godkin. He proceeds to restate the old *à priori* dictum in the following terms: "And the law of production is that whether we apply labor to mines or to agriculture, the product does not increase in the same ratio as the labor applied, in other words we cannot get proportionally more results by employing more men." (*Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1896, p. 726.) And this in face of the statistics above referred to, showing precisely the contrary! How easy it is to refute facts with that kind of logic in which we are allowed to invent our own premises. The fallacy in the

*à priori* reasoning by which the so-called law of diminishing return is reached is not hard to detect. In the premises it is assumed that the amount of brains applied with the labor will be a constant quantity, that the mine will always be worked with a single bucket and windlass, operated by a man at the crank; that the ground will always be scratched to a depth of only two inches with a knotted stick, as by the Indian ryot; that the grain will always be reaped with the sickle, beaten out with a flail, and winnowed in the northwest wind. The efficiency of labor being falsely assumed to be a constant quantity, the increasing depth of the mine and diminishing fertility of the successive areas of soil brought under cultivation seemed to insure the operation of the law. But one important element in the premises was overlooked, the tendency of mind to triumph over matter, to overcome material obstacles, and to bring new forces to bear on the problem of life. The efficiency of labor has been vastly increased, so that the "earth's dividend" throughout the industrial world has been steadily rising.

Nothing daunted, our critic once more states the dogma in still more sweeping terms: "There is no deduction from the operations of nature more certain than that the earth is not meant to afford much more than a fair subsistence to the dwellers on it." ("Problems," p. 204.) This reads very much like a well-known theological deduction that the major part of the world was "meant" to be damned. Surely Mr. Godkin must have reached this deduction through some of that "metaphysical or theological logomachy" he is so fond of ridiculing. To the social economist who considers the operations of nature in all their relations to the evolution of humanity the deduction is quite as likely to suggest itself that the earth was meant to afford to the dwellers on it a "life that is more than meat." Certainly no such induction as Mr. Godkin suggests can be established from the industrial history of the century now closing; nor can the conclusion be reached by any deductive method, except upon the hypothesis that the march of human intellect in its campaign of conquest over material forces is to halt in its career. Not only are there no indications of such a halt, but, on the contrary, reports

from the *avant-couriers* of science give daily promise of the subjection of new forces to the service of man. The possibilities of synthetic chemistry in making inorganic substances directly available for food, of electrical science in drawing on atmospheric stores of nitrogen for the fertilization of unproductive soils, doubtless fill the mind of Mr. Godkin with "much the same feeling of gentle entertainment with which he reads about the best means of communicating with Mars." Just such a feeling of gentle entertainment would have filled the mind of Adam Smith and Malthus had the idea been suggested to them that a population of thirty millions in the United Kingdom would ever be fed on bread and meat from the wilds of North and South America and Australia.

The economists of the new school are taken to task by Mr. Godkin because they seem to him to give no attention to the problem of production and the size of the earth's dividend. This is a misapprehension on Mr. Godkin's part, arising from the fact that the new school is by its method compelled to arrive at the size of the earth's dividend through the avenue of the census returns rather than through *à priori* deductions as to what the size of this dividend was "meant" to be. The problem of production does interest the historical school, but it is the real problem of production, not a hypothetical one with a variable factor assumed as constant in the interest of simplicity. Though Mr. Godkin's own figures, in the "Bills of Socialism" ("Problems," p. 235), display a very encouraging dividend, they give him no consolation. The bagatelle of more than \$5,000 invested capital for each family of five, of the "pleasant addition to wages" of \$311.55, "less than a dollar a day," seems to him such a paltry surplus from the earth's dividend that he stands with clouded brow before these two economic fetiches, the law of production and the law of population, and bids us tremble at their spent thunderbolt as if it were the majesty of doom. He faces them in the same spirit with which he would meet death and taxes. "There is no more reason why the human race should despair in the face of the Malthusian law of the pressure of population on the means of subsistence than that it should confess defeat in the face of the fact of mortality." Well, hopefulness and de-

spair are largely matters of individual temperament, and even Mr. Godkin may take courage, with a surplus growing year by year "in the face of the Malthusian law." According to the Manchester deduction, the size of the earth's dividend *per capita* should be represented by a descending series; according to the census returns, it is represented by an ascending series. Mr. Godkin, gloomily wagging his head, restates his Calvinistic deduction that it was not "meant" to be so; the historical economist rereads the census returns. Which is more affected by the bias of optimism or pessimism? Which is more nearly in the "attitude of the chemist toward his alkalis and acids"?

But it is easy to see that Mr. Godkin's objection to the historical school of political economy is not chiefly because of its sceptical attitude toward the traditional hypothesis of the science, but because it gives aid and comfort to the foes of an unmodified individualism, the socialists, fabians, collectivists, all those entertainers of "vague and wild schemes for human regeneration on an economic basis." The "crowds of young professors, labor agitators, and politicians in search of a new economy which would shorten hours of labor, raise wages, humble the employer, give the laborer a fair share in the luxuries of life, and eventually abolish poverty" ("Problems," p. 171), are, after all, his chief concern. To the Manchester school, free competition was the beginning and end of the law. Non-government was its ideal of government. "Hands off!" was its watchword.

Mr. Godkin complains that the new economy is only a legislative or governmental policy, and that the new economists are politicians or reformers rather than scientific men; but what was the doctrine of *laissez faire* if not a policy? The new school recognizes the actual drift of human tendencies, is trying to understand the correlation of forces at work in the economic fabric, and has refused to accept the dogma that *laissez faire* is the fundamental principle of government. It finds that the government of the present is a something more complex than a policeman with a club, and it believes that in the natural course of evolution the government of the future will tend to develop new and enlarged functions. This

is the heresy which renders the new school *anathema maranatha*, since it furnishes a convenient cloak of scientific plausibility to the vain imaginings of many a wild dreamer and crafty schemer. The doctrine of free competition is assailed on every side, and the historical school is making observation of the facts. It recognizes two tendencies in the phenomena connected with the production and distribution of wealth, the tendency of men to compete and their tendency to coöperate. The competitive force has been hailed as the great motive power of civilization. So sacred has this canon of free competition been held in the old school, that any violation of it is thought to be in derogation of the principle of civil liberty.

But is there, then, no point in the development of industry at which competition ceases to be a beneficent and becomes a destructive force? The new school, with no dogmas to defend, points to numerous phenomena showing that competition unrestricted finally tends to limit and destroy itself, that at a certain point in the development of a country it becomes a wasteful and destructive rather than a productive force. It leads to useless reduplication of the means of production, transportation, and distribution of commodities, causing a wasteful misapplication of capital and misdirection of energy. By reason of this misapplication and misdirection, the earth's dividend is prevented from reaching the comfortable dimensions which improved methods of applying labor should render possible. Too large a portion of the productive energy of the population is expended in a profitless duplication of the work of others. Parallel railroads, steel mills and sugar refineries paid by the trusts to remain idle, are evidence of this waste of capital in useless duplicates. Go into any town, large or small, count the stores and shops of various kinds, and then estimate the number of unnecessary men and the amount of unnecessary capital employed in distribution and consequently unavailable for purposes of production under this régime of competition. Interrogated as to the possibility of avoiding this deplorable waste of human energy, the older economist has nothing to offer better than to patter the old formula, "*Laissez faire, laissez passer.*"

The historical school consults the auspices, notes how capi-

tal constantly tends to coöperate in production in the form of trusts, how it pools its earnings in transportation, how it combines in distribution in the form of department stores, how labor tends to coöperate in unions, and suggests, "Whither the fates point, let us follow." When in any particular field of industry the force of competition is manifestly exhausted, and a combination of capital has become national in its extent, let the administration of its affairs become a matter of public supervision, which may or may not eventuate in public ownership. Where gas and water and electric-light companies are performing a public service, in which from its very nature effective competition is impossible, let the principle of coöperation be applied. Let the municipality resume a function it should never have delegated to any other corporation. Above all, let the organization of labor be promoted and encouraged so that if the time should ever come for transition from a partial to a complete coöperation, the national army of industry may be already organized, drilled, officered, and equipped.

But in all this, says our critic, you are playing the role of legislators or politicians, not economists, and moreover you are creating expectations which can by no possibility be fulfilled. Your proposed system assumes the existence of executive ability such as is nowhere to be found, and makes drafts on human nature for a degree of perfection unattained and unattainable. The only result of your contributions to the literature of political economy will be to produce still deeper discontent and to accentuate the irritating friction between classes.

In reply to these criticisms it must be said that the historical school has no system to propose except the system of natural evolution. It does not proclaim a Utopia, a ready-made, warranted-to-fit industrial civilization in place of the one the body politic is now wearing. It neither proposes nor predicts any revolution, either peaceful or otherwise. It is watching the ever-advancing evolution, trying to note the processes and understand the laws of its resistless march. No time will be wasted in a fruitless effort to sprag the wheels of the new movement with dry-bone dogmas of the old political

economy. It does no good to make faces at a cyclone or to call it names, or to remind it that, according to *à priori* deductions from the first law of motion, it ought to move in a straight line. Neither is it reasonable or logical to rail at the men who are out in the storm, trying to gauge its force and determine its direction, to secure the tent-pegs and steady the guy-ropes of civilization; nor is it fair to charge these men with kicking up all the dust. Lassalle, Karl Marx, the Katheder Socialisten, Prof. Ingram, the young college professors, labor agitators, and politicians—all Mr. Godkin's menagerie of *bêtes noires*—would not suffice to raise even a gentle breeze, their utmost shriek in chorus would be but a *vox clamantis in deserto*, were not the economic atmosphere charged with some cyclonic energy. To change the figure, this movement in the direction of coöperative industry is an evidence of the time-spirit working in the old humanity, which at uncertain intervals, after a period of pain and perturbation, moults an old skin,—social, religious, political, or economic,—and comes forth newly equipped for the struggle. Granted that it is highly improbable that humanity has yet developed a degree of executive ability and individual integrity such as would render possible a realization of the dreams of collectivists, yet we sometimes see a people struggling for civil liberty whose citizens have not yet reached a moral level adequate to successful self-government. The very struggle is, nevertheless, an indication of inherent capacity for development. In what school did the English and American people learn the lesson of popular self-government? In a struggle of centuries to attain and develop that form of government. Mr. Godkin will admit that civil liberty has been won with an accompaniment of torrents of intemperate talk and no small measure of incidental discontent. It has had its periods of premature advance and disorderly retreat, has blundered through unsuccessful experiments and met with temporary reverses, but through all this ebb and flow of popular feeling have been developing, in individuals and communities, the qualities and capacities which make such government possible. Is it beyond the reach of Mr. Godkin's imagination that there should be evolved, out of the struggle of the centuries to come, a

humanity which may be equal to the establishment of coöperative industrialism?

However, the new school is in no wise concerned in establishing the possibility or impossibility, the probability or improbability, of this attainment of the collectivist ideal. It simply insists that the proposals of those who entertain this ideal shall not be met with discredited deductions and question-begging epithets in the name of political economy. Paternalism, socialism, collectivism can no longer be considered synonymous with diabolism. We have a "nationalist" postal system; in what respect would it make unreasonable drafts on our individual integrity to have a "nationalist" telegraph system? We enjoy "socialistic" post roads; why should it overtax our executive abilities to manage "socialistic" railroads? We compel individual disputants to settle their quarrels in courts of justice established for the purpose; would it be enlarging the judicial function beyond the possibilities of our present stage of civilization if we were to create similar machinery for the settlement of differences between organized capital and organized labor? It requires only a little amplification of our assessors' and tax-collectors' offices to put in operation, according to the single-tax programme, the collective ownership of land. These measures, together with the public control of municipal monopolies, would be long strides toward the "nationalization of industry."

Does the historical school, then, accept responsibility for any or all of this "selected" programme? Assuredly not, any more than it accepts responsibility for the schemes of those persons who have in mind the regeneration of humanity by a free use of explosive chemicals. It simply demands that each one of these propositions be examined in the light of history and experience rather than in the light of doubtful deductions from imperfect premises. Let them be pronounced good or bad, practicable or impracticable, as sound judgment may dictate; but let them not be thrown out of the court of reason because they have been declared to savor of paternalism, socialism, or centralization.

That the historical school has, as Mr. Godkin intimates, accepted a far wider scope for the science than was contem-

plated in the old political economy cannot be denied. Well, astrology grew into astronomy, and alchemy into chemistry. "Economics," says Prof. Ingram, "must be steadily regarded as forming only one department of the larger science of sociology." Certainly the new school is more ready to recognize the intellectual, moral, and social forces which enter into such complex relations in economic problems. It will consistently refuse to consider deductions drawn from imperfect and inadequate premises as good hypotheses for "scientific purposes." It must decline to discuss theories about the economic man, because such theories throw no light upon the problem of the real man. It cannot consent for the sake of securing an easy and simple formula of solution to treat a variable factor as constant. It holds that the doctrine of *laissez faire* has been utterly discredited by the march of events. It aims, by the careful study and observation of social forces and phenomena, to aid in the development of an "applied art of life in which interests shall be subordinate to functions, and duties paramount to rights."

Finally, the historical school declines to be held responsible for all the "vague and wild schemes for human regeneration on an economic basis." Those *ex-machina* Utopias, of the Jonah's-gourd variety, which are to grow up in a night and furnish relief to humanity from all its cares and fears, have as little place in the philosophy of the new school as in Mr. Godkin's. With him the new economist recognizes that the improvement of the condition of the masses is to be effected through the "improvement of the individual man." To this end it looks with hope on every conscious, legitimate effort for the improvement of the individual man's environment, where such effort springs from an upward aspiration of humanity, even though that aspiration be born of discontent. As a prophylactic against the evils of an over-eager optimism or a too rash radicalism, perhaps the new school will prove as great a success as Mr. Godkin beating the tom-tom of Malthusianism and burning joss-sticks to the economic man.

## GOVERNMENT NOTES VERSUS BANK NOTES.

BY ARTHUR L. FONDA.

**A**MONG the many propositions for the reform of our variegated currency there are two that are being strongly urged:

(1) To allow the national banks to issue notes to the full amount of the par value of the bonds deposited as security therefor, at the same time reducing the tax on such note issues; in short, to make it more profitable to the banks to issue notes than it now is.

(2) To retire the United States notes, commonly known as greenbacks, issuing new government bonds in payment therefor; and some also add the retirement of the Treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion, but which are held to be redeemable in either gold or silver.

These two proposals are generally combined, but as they are not necessarily associated it will be best to examine them separately.

The first is based, ostensibly at least, on the claim that an elastic money volume is needed, and that the banks are best fitted to supply it. The claim necessarily implies that the banks are not only most competent to decide on the quantity of money the country needs, but also that their interests and those of the public are so nearly identical that they will, in acting for their own interests, act also for the public interest and furnish just the amount of money needed, no more and no less. A consideration of the first part of this claim—that an elastic money volume is needed—brings us at once face to face with the fact that two widely divergent if not diametrically opposed opinions are held as to the fundamental requirements of a monetary system.

One opinion is that our money should be of constant value, or general purchasing power; that since money is used as a measure of value, not only for immediate exchanges, but for deferred payments and long-time obligations, the interests of

the public require that there shall be a certainty as to the value of money at any time in the future, in order that men may have the confidence that is necessary to induce them to borrow money for the prosecution of new enterprises; and that such certainty as to the future can best be obtained by making the money as nearly as possible of constant value. Carried to its logical conclusion this opinion points to the multiple standard as the ultimate arbiter of value, and to a paper money, divorced from coin, as the proper circulating medium.

The second opinion holds that the fundamental requisite is that our money should be maintained at an approximately constant ratio to the money of the leading European nations, regardless of whether its value rises or falls; that a fixed parity of exchange between our money and that of such nations is the essential point; and that, since the European nations generally use, and are likely to continue to use, gold as the basis of their systems, we should also adhere to the gold standard.

Without entering into any discussion of the respective merits of these views it is necessary to state them as a preliminary to the discussion of the proposals we are considering, and to call attention to the fact that, since they are antagonistic to a large extent,—at least so far as to be mutually exclusive,—a rational money system must be founded on one or the other, but cannot be founded on both.

Now, if our system is to be based upon the first opinion, then an elastic money volume is necessary, since the demand for money fluctuates to a large extent, and often suddenly, and such changes in the demand must be met by corresponding changes in the supply, and met promptly, if the value of the money is to remain constant. But the increased or decreased demand for money can only be judged by a fall or rise in the general level of prices, and of this the banks have no better means of judging than the business public, and, as will be shown in discussing the proposal under the other opinion, would have neither the power nor the inclination to be guided by it if they had.

The proposals we are discussing, however, are mainly advocated by those who hold the second of the above opinions as to the requirements of a monetary system, and the discussion

may as well be confined to that opinion. Under that view, however, there is no necessity for an elastic money volume; indeed, elasticity would be not only unnecessary, but positively detrimental, and in opposition to sound monetary theory upon that basis, since it would interfere with the natural movement of gold from one country to another, under the stimulus of a difference in the value of gold in the different countries. This flow of gold is itself the natural corrective of such difference in value, and it is purely automatic and wholly adequate to maintain the moneys of all gold-standard countries at a parity within the cost of shipment of gold from one country to another. An increased issue of banknotes at any time would prevent the importation of gold, which would otherwise come in obedience to the natural laws of trade if more money were really needed here; and in case more money were not needed such issue would cause an export of gold; and in either case it would be detrimental to the stability of the system.

The acceptance, therefore, of the gold standard as a fundamental requisite invalidates the whole argument for giving to the banks the control of the volume of money, based, as it is, on the alleged necessity for an elastic money. This double demand—for the gold standard and an elastic money—is an attempt to ride two horses going in diverging directions, and must of necessity, if granted, prove disastrous.

The fact is that the argument for enlarged banknote issues and an elastic money controlled by the banks rests on the wholly erroneous idea that money and capital are identical. This is an error that is very widespread. It appears in some form in most of the newspaper and magazine articles on the subject, and even in the writings of many authors whose reputations should guarantee clearer thinking. This fact must be the excuse for restating here elementary definitions.

Money and capital are quite different things. The latter is wealth (commodities in general) devoted to the production of more wealth; while the former is a medium of exchange to aid in the transfer of wealth, and may be considered as a claim for commodities on the part of the holder of money against society in general. Now, the banks are well qualified to judge

of fluctuations in the demand for capital, since an increase is shown by increased demand for loans, rising interest rates, and a generally increased business activity; and *vice versa*. But if the banks should interpret such a condition as the above to mean a demand for money,—as they probably would, since it would be for their interest to issue more money at such a time,—they would probably err, as such indications usually point to an excess of money. Neither, on the other hand, can they properly interpret the existence of idle funds for which there is no demand at the current interest rate, as a sign of too much money. This simply shows an excess of loan capital, which may be due to several causes, but which is generally the result of falling prices. The normal indication of a lack of money is a tendency to gold imports, but even this is liable to be disguised by foreign speculation and other causes, and is slow and tardy at best.

It is not apparent, therefore, that the banks as a whole have any better means of judging the quantity of money needed than the public generally. As above shown, their interference with the natural regulation of the supply could not be beneficial in any event; and a further consideration of the probable action of the banks in case they were given the power that is asked will show that such action would probably be most disastrous.

Banks are institutions organized for private profit like any other business, and they are under no obligations to sacrifice such profit to the public welfare should the two conflict. If it is made profitable for them to issue notes to circulate as money, they will undoubtedly issue them to the fullest extent allowed by law in order to make the greatest profit. Doubtless also, under such a law as is proposed, many new banks would be started, stimulated by the profit to be made on note issues in addition to that on their loans. The result would be a large but uncertain (in amount) increase in the volume of money, and a corresponding increase in general prices.

The normal effect of such a condition would be to bring about gold exports, but this would almost certainly be delayed and postponed by foreign speculative investment in our securities, which is usually stimulated at such a time, and which

might even overbalance the tendency to gold exports that would otherwise result, and cause an import of gold for a time, despite the difference in the general price level. After a time, however,—it might be two or three years of rising prices and apparent prosperity,—the inevitable result of a difference in price levels would assert itself, and the export of gold would begin. What could or would the banks do at this juncture? During the rise of prices they would naturally have issued notes and extended credit to the fullest extent, notwithstanding the fact that such action was increasing the "boom." When the reaction came, would they not certainly for their own protection reverse this policy and withdraw both credits and note issues as much as they could? We know from experience that this is what is done as regards loans; indeed, any other course would be suicidal, since the banks are individual units in the system, without coherence or any assurance of support or help from others when needed, and each must act for itself alone, regardless of others or of the public welfare. Would not their note issues be withdrawn also to a large extent? If the money were to be any more elastic than under the present system, it would point to this. Moreover, if they should increase the issues at such a time,—supposing that they had any power left to do so, which is improbable,—or should maintain the existing volume of notes, they would largely increase the amount of gold that would have to be exported to restore the balance, with increased danger to themselves in the matter of keeping their notes at a parity with gold, especially if the greenbacks and the gold reserve of the U. S. Treasury had been abolished, and the whole burden of maintaining such parity was thrown on the banks themselves. To withdraw the notes at such a time, however, while it would be the safest course for the banks, would make the inevitable fall in prices more sudden and more extensive, and would consequently intensify the business distress.

It seems clear, therefore, that to give the banks greater control of the volume of money would result in increasing the extent of both booms and panics, the extremes of which are already greatly augmented by the expansion of loans in times

of prosperity and their contraction in times of depression and panic. This action on the part of the banks is perfectly natural and, from their point of view and under the system in use, proper and necessary; but viewed in the light of the business interests of the country the existence of such a necessity constitutes one of the most serious defects in our national banking system.

These criticisms are borne out by the experience of Japan, which in 1876 adopted a national banking system modelled on that of the United States, but discarded it in 1882 for a system having a central bank with branches, modelled on that of Belgium, for the following reason, as stated by Prof. Garrett Drowers, B. A. (Harvard University), professor of political economy and finance in the University of Keio at Tokyo, Japan:\*

"The chief fault to be found with the old system of national banks in Japan was the instability of its credit. The notes were amply secured, and always circulated at their full value. Nor is there a case of a note-holder having suffered through the failure of a bank or any illegal act. In all respects the holders of the national-bank notes were as fully secured as the holders of the national-bank notes of the United States or of any European bank of issue. The difficulty lay, not in the uncertainty of the value of the notes, but in the entire system of credit provided by the Japanese national banking system. It was found by bitter experience that the banks rapidly extended credit at a time when they should perhaps have curtailed it; and at the very moment when business required a certain amount of accommodation, these institutions were forced to refuse it. At times of expansion and confidence in the business world, the national banks found it easy to provide any amount of loans to their customers; but as soon as revulsion or lack of confidence appeared, each bank found itself forced to protect itself by refusing even the ordinary amount of credit. So long as each bank was forced to look out for itself by the ordinary

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\* "Money and Prices in Foreign Countries," Special Consular Report, vol. xiii, part II, pp. 337 *et seq.*

laws of competition, it would begin to withdraw its assistance from the public just when the public needed it most. In other words, the national-bank system emphasized the extremes of business variations; it indeed stimulated confidence at times of speculation and expansion, but it no less surely strengthened the fears of the public at critical moments of panic.

"In establishing the central banking system the government wished mainly to remedy this evil. Its first object was to organize and control the unification of credit in its most sensitive part, for instance, the issue of notes. Such centralization the Japanese to-day believe is as necessary to the issue of money as it is to the government itself, and on this point they claim all European authorities are with them. If the market is overspeculative, the bank can moderate its action through its issue, at least to a considerable degree; and when a crisis appears, a panic is averted by an extension of the same power."

The experience of Japan is a parallel to that of the United States, and the report from which the above extract is taken is commended to the careful consideration of our legislators both as an evidence of the danger that would result from an enlargement of the note-issuing powers of our banks, and also as a suggestion for the remedy of existing evils in our banking system.

Turning to the consideration of the second proposal above stated,—that for the retirement of the government notes,—we find, as must be admitted by all, that the greenbacks are, and always have been, a popular and convenient money; that they have never been distrusted or discredited, and indeed in this respect are superior to any of the other forms of paper money, since they alone are a legal tender for all debts. The only reason that can be given for their retirement and the issue of interest-bearing bonds for their redemption, as would be necessary, is the alleged difficulty that has been felt in the last few years—never before since the resumption of specie payments in 1879—in maintaining the gold reserve of \$100,000,000, which it has been thought necessary to keep for the redemption of these notes.

It has been pointed out repeatedly that the government is under no obligation to redeem these notes in gold, but that they have an undoubted right to use silver coin for that purpose if they wish. The difficulty, therefore, is not based upon any legal necessity. It is claimed, however, that it is necessary to redeem them in gold in order to maintain the parity of the notes with gold. Without stopping to inquire what other motives may have influenced such action, and admitting that it is necessary under the existing system to keep all forms of money at a parity with gold, is there any real reason for supposing that the redemption of the greenbacks in silver would have resulted in a premium on gold? The amount of gold coin and bullion in the United States has been stated by the Treasury as upwards of \$600,000,000, for several years past (and is now nearly \$700,000,000), of which upwards of \$500,000,000 was in the banks and in general circulation. Now, the only real demand for gold is for export, when its value is higher elsewhere than here; for all domestic purposes the greenbacks are equally good, and indeed are generally preferred as being more easily and cheaply handled and transported. Any export demand for gold which has arisen in the last few years could have been met several times over from the stock in the banks and in general circulation, and undoubtedly would have been so met had the Treasury reserve not been available. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that the withdrawal of the necessary amount would have caused any premium on gold beyond the trifling one which has several times developed in some particular locality for a few days. Any premium on gold worth considering would cause the immediate withdrawal of all the gold from general circulation, and a fall in prices through the resulting contraction of the currency that would speedily bring gold imports, in the face of which even a slight premium on gold would disappear.

There is no necessity, therefore, for the government to redeem its notes in gold or, indeed, to keep \$100,000,000 or any other amount as a gold reserve in order to maintain its notes at a parity with gold. With nearly one-third of our total circulation consisting of that metal, as it now does, it

would be wholly impossible for any considerable or permanent premium on gold to develop except through large issues of paper money by the government, or by banks, in excess of the present volume. Increased national-bank issues, however, under the proposal which we have been considering—uncertain in amount as they would be—might produce such a result even if the greenbacks were withdrawn, and they would be quite likely to do so if authorized without such withdrawal.

The fact is that the government bond issues of the last few years, which were made ostensibly to maintain the gold reserve, and for which the greenbacks are being blamed, were in reality made to meet the deficiency in the government revenue. This fact implies no discredit to the officials responsible for such issues of bonds—whatever may be thought of the method by which they were sold. Lacking any authority to sell bonds to meet a temporary deficiency in the revenue, it was doubtless fortunate that they could fall back on the legal fiction of issuing them to maintain the gold reserve, which they had authority to do; but it is certainly unnecessary to carry the fiction to the extent of denouncing the greenbacks as the cause of such issues.

From what has been said above as to the gold reserve it is not to be inferred that such a fund possesses no merit. While wholly unnecessary for its ostensible purpose, it is none the less a desirable thing in preventing any attempt to corner gold and in giving assurance of a supply of that metal to meet legitimate needs. For this purpose, however, it is essential that the reserve should be available for withdrawal whenever needed, and it should be expected that it would be largely reduced at times. If it is never to be touched, or if any reduction of the normal amount is to cause distrust and business apprehension, it is quite useless.

The fact that gold could be obtained from the Treasury fund more easily than from the numerous banks, which together carried a far larger stock, as evidenced by the fact that it was the Treasury fund that was resorted to when gold was needed for export, is a strong argument for the continuance of such a fund as a public convenience, and the retention of the paper money by which it is made available; and if any

anxiety is or has been felt as to the sufficiency of this fund to meet any legitimate requirements, it simply argues that a larger reserve is needed rather than the abolition of the existing one and of the paper money of which it is the ostensible guarantee.

This point will be touched upon again presently, but let us now consider for a moment what the conditions would have been during the last few years had there been no greenbacks or gold reserve, and their place had been filled by an equal amount of national-bank notes in addition to the present volume of such notes.

The \$347,000,000 (in round numbers) of greenbacks are a legal tender, and available for the lawful money reserve of the national banks for the protection of their deposits, a function which the national-bank notes cannot fulfil. If they had been withdrawn the banks would have been forced to rely wholly upon coin for such reserve, and with the gold now held as a reserve distributed in circulation, there would still have been some \$247,000,000 less lawful money available for the bank reserves than there was, and the demand for gold for this purpose would have been greatly increased. Besides this the volume of the banknotes would have been double what it was, and the burden of maintaining them at a parity with gold would have been thrown wholly on the banks. Under these circumstances would there not have been much greater danger of a premium on gold than there was?

The objection urged against the greenbacks, that under the existing law they are used as an "endless chain" to draw gold from the Treasury, has some foundation. It is not the greenbacks themselves, however, but a particular feature of the law, which allows them to be reissued for government expenses after being redeemed in gold, that is at fault. And even this is not objectionable on the ground cited, that it admits of gold being withdrawn continually from the reserve; but it is most decidedly objectionable on the ground that it confuses what is essentially a trust function of the Treasury—the maintenance of a reserve, and the issuing and redemption of notes—with its larger function, that of collecting the revenues and paying the expenses of the government. These two

functions should never be confused or mingled, but it is evident that they are when notes redeemed with coin from the reserve are reissued in payment of the ordinary expenses of the government, since such action is equivalent to paying expenses out of the reserve fund.

Furthermore, sound theory of a monetary system based on coin requires that the metal shall be free to flow from one country to another in order to correct any difference in the general price levels in the different countries, or, what is the same thing, any difference in the values of the metal by which prices are measured; and in order that it may do this, it is essential that it shall not only increase the level of prices in the country to which it goes, by increasing the money supply there, but also lower the price level in the exporting country by contracting their circulation. When, however, notes are redeemed for gold from the reserve, and the gold is exported, if the notes are again reissued without a corresponding deposit of gold, the reduction of the price level which would otherwise occur is prevented, and twice the amount of gold would require to be exported to bring about the desired parity of price levels that would be necessary if the notes were not reissued. The proposal, therefore, to make the issuing and redemption of government notes and the management of the reserve fund a separate department of the Treasury, entirely distinct from the other functions, is a good one.

In stating the above theory of what is essential in the maintenance of a monetary system based on coin, the writer does not wish to be understood as advocating such a system. As he has more fully stated elsewhere,\* the maintenance of a constant money value is, in his opinion, of far greater importance than a constant exchange rate. The convenience of the few engaged in foreign commerce should seemingly have less weight than that of the many engaged in domestic trade, not to speak of the injustice to debtors and creditors of a fluctuating money value and its deterrent effect on all enterprise. The purpose of this article, however, is not to urge this view, nor to discuss the relative merits of money systems based on one metal or on two metals or on the multiple standard. It

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\* "Honest Money," Macmillan & Co., 1886.

is merely intended to point out that, given such a money system as we have, and admitting the necessity for maintaining the different kinds of money at a parity with each other, the government notes are not a source of danger or trouble, but are, on the contrary, economical and safe even now, and with the suppression of the reissue feature, and the proposed separation of the issue and redemption function of the Treasury from its other functions, would be wholly unobjectionable; while, on the other hand, to entrust the control of note issues to the national banks or to State banks would be most dangerous.

If it be desired to simplify our confused and intricate money issues, it is the banknotes that should be eliminated. They are no safer than the greenbacks, since they rest quite as completely on the government credit; are no more convenient; are more cumbersome and expensive to issue and care for; and are wrong in principle, in enabling the banks to make a profit (theoretically at least, and with the proposed changes in the law practically) on a money which derives its circulating power wholly from the government guarantee. Their place might well be taken by an increased issue of greenbacks; and a sufficient gold reserve to meet any demand might be accumulated and maintained by ceasing to coin gold, but continuing to buy it as offered, paying for it with new issues of greenbacks, and holding it in the form of bullion bars, in which shape it would be quite as available for foreign shipment as coin, but would not be available for domestic use or bank reserves. This would tend to prevent the withdrawal of gold as a result of panic or for hoarding, and a gradually increasing fund would accumulate through the purchase of new gold and of old coin. The expense of minting would be saved as well as much loss from abrasion; and, more than all, the gold would be in one central reserve, accessible for any real need, instead of being scattered throughout the country where it is more or less difficult of access at all times, and is hoarded most tightly when most needed for foreign shipment.

The greenbacks would fill every requirement of a domestic money, as they long have done; and if they were increased in volume sufficiently to take up the national-bank notes, Treas-

ury notes, and gold and silver certificates, the volume of uncovered paper money would not be at all increased, and no larger reserve fund would be needed than we now need; while, of course, the present reserve funds of both gold and silver behind all these displaced issues would become one general fund available for the protection of the greenbacks; and this general fund would be gradually increased in the percentage it bore to the note issues by the further issue of greenbacks only in exchange for gold, dollar for dollar.

In this connection it may be added that the amount of the reserve which should be carried cannot be judged by the percentage of cash to outstanding notes or deposits which experience has shown to be necessary in a bank. The cases are quite different. The bank must provide against any probable demand for redemption of its notes in time of panic (a bank, that is, which relies on its own resources and not on a government guarantee); while experience has shown that a panic creates little or no demand for the redemption of the government notes in coin except where the coin is needed for export. The possible amount of this export demand necessary to adjust price levels between this country and others is the question that must be considered in fixing the amount of a reserve fund. As the net gold exports from this country have never exceeded \$100,000,000 in any one year or in any two consecutive years, and as the amount would doubtless have been much less if the greenbacks had not been reissued, it is evident that no enormous increase of our present reserve is needed to obviate all question of its sufficiency.

While the term gold has been generally used above in speaking of the reserve and redemption of notes, since it is the only metal that can be considered for such purpose under the existing laws, yet the remarks apply equally to silver under a silver standard, and to both metals if bimetallism prevailed.

## THE SUPERSTITIONS OF SCIENCE.\*

BY COUNT LEO N. TOLSTOY.

I THINK Edward Carpenter's article on "Contemporary Science" should be specially beneficial in our Russian society, in which, more than in any other European society, has spread and taken root the superstition according to which it is held that for the well-being of mankind the spread of true religious and moral knowledge is not at all necessary, but only the study of the experimental sciences, and that a knowledge of these sciences satisfies all the spiritual demands of mankind.

It can readily be understood what an injurious influence such a coarse superstition must have on a people's moral life, —just such an influence as religious superstition has. Therefore the spread of the thoughts of writers who take up a critical attitude towards experimental science and its methods is especially desirable for our society.

Carpenter demonstrates that neither astronomy, nor physics, nor chemistry, nor biology, nor sociology gives us a true knowledge of reality; that all the laws discovered by these sciences are only generalizations, having an approximate value as laws, and even this only when other conditions are unknown or ignored; and that even these laws seem laws to us only because we discover them in a region which is so distant from us in time or space that we cannot see the want of correspondence between these laws and reality.

Besides this, Carpenter shows that the method of science,

\* By special arrangement we are enabled to give the readers of THE ARENA the latest article by Count Leo Tolstoy, the philanthropist and reformer. It has been translated from the Russian by Charles Johnston, Esq., late of Her Majesty's civil service in Bengal. Whatever Count Tolstoy writes possesses a peculiar value from the spirit of absolute truthfulness which pervades it and from the spirit of humanity which clothes it as with a garment.—THE EDITOR.

consisting in the explanation of phenomena near to us and important for us, by phenomena more distant from us and indifferent for us, is a false method, which can never lead to the desired results.

"Every science," he says, "as far as possible explains the phenomena which it investigates by ideas of an inferior order. Thus ethics is founded on questions of utility and hereditary habit. From political economy are eliminated all questions of justice between man and man, of compassion, of attachment, of efforts for solidarity, and it is based on a principle of the very lowest order that could be found in it, namely, the principle of personal interest. From biology is excluded the idea of personality, not only in plants and animals, but even in men; the question of conscious personality is set aside, and an attempt is made to reduce the questions of biology to reflex action and chemical affinity,—to protoplasm and phenomena of osmosis. Moreover chemical affinity and all the wonderful phenomena of physics are reduced to atomic motions, and atomic motions, like the motions of the heavenly bodies, are reduced to the laws of mechanics."

It is asserted that the reduction of questions of a higher order to questions of a lower order explains the questions of higher order. But this explanation is never reached, and all that happens is that, descending in its investigations ever further and further from the most real questions to less real questions, science at last reaches a region wholly foreign to man, and only coming into remote contact with him, and gives all its attention to this region, leaving all the questions which are really important for man totally unsolved.

What happens is something like the act of a man who, desiring to understand the meaning of an object standing before him, instead of going nearer to it, and examining and feeling it on all sides, should go further and further away from the object, and, finally, should reach such a distance that all the characteristics of color and inequality of surface should disappear, and only those distinctions should remain visible which separate the object from the horizon. And standing there the man should begin to describe the object in detail, holding that now he had a clear idea of it, and that

this idea, formed at such a distance, would contribute to a full understanding of the subject. This is the self-delusion which is in part stripped bare by Carpenter's criticism, when he demonstrates, in the first place, that the knowledge which science gives us in the region of the natural sciences is only a convenient process of generalization, and by no means an image of reality, and in the second place that the method of science, by which phenomena of a higher order are reduced to phenomena of a lower order, can never lead us to an explanation of the phenomena of higher order.

But without prejudging the question whether experimental science will or will not ultimately lead, by its method, to a solution of the problems of life which are most important for mankind, the very action of experimental science in relation to the eternal and most legitimate demands of mankind is startling in its wrongness.

People must live. But in order to live they must know how to live. And all people have ever solved this question,—whether ill or well,—and have lived and advanced in harmony with that solution; and the knowledge of how people should live, from the times of Moses, Solomon, and Confucius, was always held to be a science, the science of sciences. And it is only in our times that the science of how to live has become no science, and that only experimental science, beginning with mathematics and ending with sociology, is held to be real science.

And from this a strange misunderstanding arises. A simple and sensible workingman holds in the old-fashioned and sensible way that if there are people who study during their whole lives, and, in return for the food and support he gives them, think for him, then these thinkers are probably occupied with what is necessary to people, and he expects from science a solution of those questions on which his well-being and the well-being of all people depends. He expects that science will teach him how to live, how to act towards members of his family, towards his neighbors, towards foreigners; how to battle with his passions, in what he should or should not believe, and much more. And what does our science tell him concerning all these questions?

It majestically informs him how many million miles the sun is from the earth, how many millions of ethereal vibrations in a second constitute light, how many vibrations in the air make sound; it tells him of the chemical constitution of the Milky Way, of the new element helium, of micro-organisms and their waste tissue, of the points in the hand in which electricity is concentrated, of X rays, and the like. But, says the simple common-sense person, none of this is necessary to me; I need to know how to live. You want to know a great deal, replies science. What you ask belongs to sociology. But before sociological questions can be answered, we must first decide zoölogical, botanical, physiological, and in general biological questions; and in order to solve these questions, we must previously solve questions of physics and chemistry, and we must come to an agreement as to the forms of infinitesimal atoms, and the manner in which the imponderable and inelastic ether conveys motion.

And people, especially those who sit on the necks of others, and for whom it is therefore quite convenient to wait, are satisfied with these answers, and sit blinking their eyes, and waiting for what is promised; but the simple and sensible working-man, on whose neck are sitting the others who are occupying themselves with science, the vast mass of people, all humanity, cannot be satisfied by such answers, and naturally asks in perplexity: When will all that happen? We cannot wait. You say yourselves that you will find out all this in several generations. But we are alive now; to-day we live; to-morrow we die; and therefore we need to know how to live the life in which we now are. Therefore teach us.

Stupid and uneducated fellow, science replies, he does not understand that science serves not utility, but science. Science studies what presents itself for study, and cannot select subjects for study. Science studies everything. This is the character of science.

And men of science are really convinced that this quality of occupying itself with trifles, and neglecting what is more real and important, is a quality not of themselves, but of science; but the simple, sensible person begins to suspect that this quality belongs not to science, but to people who are inclined to

occupy themselves with trifles, and to attribute to these trifles a high importance.

Science studies everything, say the men of science. But this everything is somewhat too much. Everything is an endless quantity of subjects, and it is impossible to study everything at once. As a lighthouse cannot illumine everything at once, but only illuminates the spot to which its light is directed, so science cannot study everything, but inevitably studies only that to which its attention is directed. And as a lighthouse illuminates more brightly a spot which is close to it, and more faintly objects which are more remote, and does not illumine at all objects which its light does not reach, so human science, whatever its character may be, has always studied and studies in the greatest detail what appears most important to those who study, and studies in less detail what seems to them less important, and does not study at all the whole endless number of subjects which remain.

And what is very important, what is less important, and what is of no importance at all, is defined for people by their general understanding of the purpose and aim of life, that is, by religion.

But the men of science of our time, recognising no religion, and therefore having no basis for selecting subjects of study according to their importance, and separating them from subjects of less importance, and finally from that endless number of subjects which always remain unstudied, owing to the limitations of the human mind and to the endlessness of the number of these subjects, have worked out for themselves a theory of "science for science's sake," according to which science studies not what is necessary to people, but everything.

And in reality experimental science studies everything, not, however, in the sense of the union of all subjects, but in the sense of disorder and chaos in defining the subjects studied; that is, science studies especially, not what is necessary to people, and studies less, not what is less necessary, leaving unstudied what is unnecessary, but rather studies anything, according to the merest hazard. Although the Comtist and other classifications of science exist, these classifications do not guide the choice of subjects of study, but the choice of sub-

jects is guided by human weakness, common to men of science as to all men. So that in reality men of science study, not everything, as they imagine and affirm, but what is most profitable and easy to study. And it is most profitable to study what contributes to the well-being of the upper classes to which the people who occupy themselves with science belong; and it is easiest to study what is lifeless. And this is the course followed by those who study the experimental sciences: they study books, monuments, dead bodies; and they consider this study to be the most real science.

So that the most authentic "science," the only science (just as the "Bible" was held to be the only book worthy of that name), in our times is held to be, not an investigation of the means whereby people's lives may be made better and happier, but the collection and the transcription from many books into one of all that has been written by those who have gone before, on a certain subject, or the pouring of a liquid from one test-tube to another, the artistic preparation of microscopic sections, the cultivation of bacteria, the vivisection of frogs and dogs, the investigation of X rays, the chemical constitution of the stars, and so on. And all the sciences which have as their aim to make human life better and happier, the religious, moral, and social sciences, are considered by the reigning science to be no sciences, and are handed over to theologians, philosophers, jurists, historians, and students of political economy, whose whole occupation is, under the pretext of scientific investigations, to demonstrate that the existing condition of society, whose profits they enjoy, is precisely the condition which ought to exist, and which, consequently, not only must not be changed, but must be upheld at all hazards.

To say nothing of theology, philosophy, and jurisprudence, the most fashionable of the sciences of this kind, political economy, is startling in this regard. The most widely accepted political economy, that of Karl Marx, recognising the existing condition of society as being what it ought to be, not only does not demand that people should change this condition, that is, does not show them how they ought to live in order to improve their condition, but on the contrary demands a continuation of the cruelty of the existing order, in order that

their more than doubtful prophecies of what must happen, if people continue to live as wrongly as they live now, should be fulfilled.

And, as always happens, the lower any human activity descends, the further it departs from what it ought to be, the stronger grows its self-confidence. And this is the very thing which has happened to the science of our time. True science was never esteemed by contemporaries, but on the contrary was for the most part rejected. And it could not be otherwise. True science shows people their errors, and points out to them new and untried paths of life. And both the one and the other are disagreeable to the ruling class of society. But the present science not only does not run counter to the tastes and demands of the ruling class of society, but rather corresponds to them completely; it satisfies idle curiosity, astonishes people, and promises them an increase of pleasures. And therefore, while everything truly great is silent, modest, inconspicuous, the science of our time knows no bounds to its self-gratulations.

All previous methods were mistaken, and therefore everything that was formerly accounted science is delusion, error, trifling; our method alone is true, and the only true science is ours. The successes of our science are such that thousands of years have failed to accomplish what we have accomplished in the last century. And in the future, following the same path, our science will solve all questions, and make the whole of humanity happy. Our science is the most important activity in the world, and we, the men of science, are the most important and necessary people in the world.

Thus the men of science of our time think and speak, and the crowd follows them, while at the same time there was never a period or a people among whom science in its complete significance stood on so low a level as our science to-day. One part of it, that which should study what makes the life of man good and happy, is occupied in justifying the existing evil conditions of life, while another part spends its time solving questions of idle curiosity.

How, of idle curiosity? I hear voices of indignation at such sacrilegious scoffing. And what about steam, and elec-

tricity, and telephones, and all the achievements of technical art? To say nothing of their scientific importance, see what practical results they have achieved. Man has conquered nature, and subjected her forces to his will; and so forth.

But then all these practical victories over nature up to the present, and for a long enough time, only lead to factories which ruin the people, to weapons for destroying human life, to the increase of luxury and license, answers the simple and sensible person, and therefore man's victory over nature not only has not increased the happiness of mankind, but, on the contrary, has made its condition worse. If the structure of society is evil, as with us, where a small number of people rule over the majority, and oppress it, then every victory over nature inevitably serves only to strengthen that power and that oppression. And this is what takes place.

In the case of science, which finds its subject, not in the study of how people should live, but in the study of what is, and is therefore preëminently occupied with the investigation of dead bodies, and leaves the structure of human society as it is, no achievements and no victories over nature can improve the condition of the people.

And medicine? You forget the beneficent successes of medicine. And the inoculation of bacteria? And the present operations? exclaim, as usual, the defenders of science, as a last resource, bringing forward the successes of medicine as a demonstration of the fruitfulness of all science.

We can guard against diseases and accomplish cures by inoculation, we can perform painless operations, we can take out internal organs and cleanse them, we can straighten hunch-backs, generally say the defenders of science, holding for some reason or other that to cure one child of diphtheria from among all the children, fifty per cent of whom in all Russia, and eighty per cent in institutions, normally die, must convince people of the beneficence of science in general.

The structure of our life is such that not only children, but the majority of the people, owing to bad food, inordinately hard and injurious work, unhealthy dwellings, and insufficient clothing, do not live half the term of years they ought to live; the condition of life is such that children's diseases, syphilis,

phthisis, and alcoholism lay hold of an ever-increasing number of people; that the greater part of their labor is perverted to preparations for war; that every ten or twenty years millions of people are destroyed by war; and all this takes place because science, instead of spreading among us true religious, moral, and social ideas, as a result of which all these evils would disappear of their own accord, occupies itself on the one hand with justifications of the existing order, and on the other with playthings, and, to demonstrate to us the fruitfulness of science, points to the fact that it cures a thousandth part of the ills which overtake us simply because science does not do its duty. If even a small fraction of the effort, attention, and labor which men of science spend on the trifles which occupy them were directed to establishing right religious, moral, social, or even hygienic ideas, there would not be a hundredth part of the diphtheria, hysteria, spinal curvature, and the like, on the cure of which science so prides itself, accomplishing these cures in its hospitals, whose accommodations cannot be extended to all.

This is just as if people who had ploughed badly a field sown badly, with bad seed, were to go about in the field, and to cure the broken ears in the crop, which grew beside diseased ears, at the same time trampling down all the rest, and were to bring forward their art in curing the diseased ears as a proof of their knowledge of agriculture.

Our science, in order to become science, and to become truly beneficent, and not injurious to mankind, must first of all renounce its empirical method, according to which it considers itself bound to study only what is, and must return to the only wise and fruitful understanding of science, according to which its object is the study of how people ought to live. In this is the aim and purpose of science; and the study of what is can only be the subject of science so far as that study contributes to a knowledge of how people ought to live.

And it is this recognition of the bankruptcy of experimental science, and the absolute necessity of adopting another method, which Carpenter's article demonstrates.

## PRAYER: WHO CAN TELL WHAT IT IS?

BY MRS. F. H. BOALT.

“I HAVE been young and now I am old,” old enough for experience to have somewhat positive to say about a matter tested, on an average, daily, for certainly half a century. But at this late date I am bound to confess that concerning the efficacy of prayer I speak with far less assurance than when, in confident youth, I stood on the other side of experience. Perhaps I ought to have a clearly defined creed as to what prayer will surely do; but if I have any creed at all, it is a jumble of beliefs, inconsistent with each other, and—some of them at least—not proven.

Within a few years only—years of real life, wherein neither sentiment nor doctrine has abated one jot or tittle of the law—have I come to be sensible of these inconsistencies and to wonder why I compiled the jumble.

Still dominant in my creed, I am happy to say, is the oldest belief, one that I must have acquired with my mother tongue, if not with breath, so antedating memory is it. Persistent as faith in my mother herself, and as simple and unconditioned, this is about the way the oldest belief in my creed reads: “God hears, God cares, and will surely answer.” Nothing could be more clearly defined than this, nothing more assuring; my childish heart was steadfast, and knew no fear; it believed absolutely in the coming of all it asked for.

Later the creed became less clear; it grew cloudy with conditions necessary to securing attention and answers from God. These conditions crept in as explanations of unanswered prayer. Young people at prayer meeting, or older ones of equally limited experience, living tranquil, uneventful lives—I among them all—rolled glibly from off the tongue assertions of what prayer would do in storms we knew nothing about, or told what we must do to make our prayers effectual. We said, “God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth,” though just what that meant I do not think we could

have told. I confess I listened to the others with something akin to envy. "They must know," I thought, "how to get into a state that I am locked out of." We also said: "We must come with the right kind of faith, and we must have enough of it; we must believe that we really have, and we shall have; we must be persistent and bold, in season and out of season; we must be humble, and ever in the spirit of submission to the Divine will; we must ask only those things God is willing to give, and we must avoid vain repetitions."

It is strange that I ever found comfort in this jumble. But those were days wherein was no trouble, no bewildering changes, no heartbreaking disappointments. It took years of coming with boldness, to be smitten the next with weakness in the fear that my faith and humility were of doubtful quality or quantity,—years, I say, of this uncertainty as to my credentials, before I awakened to the ungodlike character such a jumble gave to the Almighty, the character of one who, making a great ado over His promises, yet cunningly provides that nothing not in accordance with His will shall be expected of Him. The awakening was by the natural and unavoidable comparison of such conduct with my own as a parent. "I would not," I said, "treat my children so; I would not lead them on to ask whatsoever they will, and then slip out of the bargain by claiming that they asked things not in accordance with my will, and therefore not to be expected. Poor child! how is he to know what my will is concerning his natural, laudable desires, if I have not expressed it?" And I further said: "God has been maligned; He would not treat His children so. After all, what right have we to prescribe the rules of the mercy seat, rules which practically annihilate confidence?"

Then out of the confusion arising from the creed, the awakening, and the realities, something within has protested against such annihilation; a something—my real self, maybe—not dead, though drugged by generations of environment, holding fast to some eternal inheritance, saying with immovable rock-like confidence, "There are everlasting arms, and they are underneath." That something, that inner self, mysterious yet real and majestic, ratifies the unconditioned faith

of the child, and endorses the judgment of reason that "God can if He will, and He will if it be right."

And yet—what has been proven? What are we to say in the face of awful realities? I have seen, not the seed, but the righteous man himself begging bread. Aye, more: I have seen him so apparently forsaken, reduced to such straits, that I could not see why he should lift a finger, much less beg, to prolong a life so empty of good. I have watched a man, too young to fail and die, too old to recuperate a fortune, lost through no fault but that of a hurricane in the commercial world, struggle with all the strength of a noble soul,—and what is such struggle but the truest kind of prayer? And I have seen that struggle end in a broken heart and death; and I have heard one of the daughters, who prayed with him and for him through all that pitiful fight, say, as she lifted her face from watching his last breath, "I prayed for his relief, but I did not mean the relief of death."

I have seen the child of many prayers commit every crime but murder; and perhaps when I have told you all, you will say he committed that, and may yet. All the property of his parents, accumulated by years of labor and self-denial, is gone through the vain effort to save the child from disgrace. The father is dead, crushed by the double disappointment; the mother still lingers, a paralytic, cowering under the blustering yet catlike tyranny of the brutal boy.

"Their reward will come in the hereafter," do you say? Yes, but what if that boy goes into *his* hereafter unrepentant and unchanged? "Must not talk about such things?" Who is your authority?

You and I both look back over years of prayer. Beginning in childhood, continuing through the placid prayer-meeting age, we have had our daily prayer. Only in storms of anguish, when anything set and formal has been distasteful, have we failed, and then only in routine. We have come with the only kind of faith we knew, and we have come with as full a measure of it as we could; we have tried to reconcile boldness with humility, and importunity with resignation; we have pleaded all the promises, we have cried day and night; and

yet what a long list of prayers, dear as our own souls, remain unanswered!

Sincere desires, as strong to-day in our hearts as ever, and as old almost as our hearts themselves, desires utterly unselfish, in perfect accord with a kingdom of love and peace and in furtherance of a Saviour's plans, have carried us, day and night, to Him who has all power, and yet

"No answer from on high  
Breaks the crystal spheres of silence, and no white wings downward fly."

There have been times when we have prayed—not in words; they even were too distasteful to the soul in great want—when we have stood with no consciousness but that of soul beside a dying child, our whole being a prayer of protest against the destroyer: "Oh, God, no, no. But if he must die, spare him suffering." Nevertheless the destroyer was not driven back; fiercely he racked the baby body; and what we, with all right on our side, prayed against was victorious, as far as we could see, or can see now.

Prayers to the widow's God for guidance have marked the many years now closing in disaster, the culmination of blunders. Wisdom on the points prayed over, as far as we can see, was not given at all, to say nothing of its liberality; the promises, in these respects, were not fulfilled. Not that we have not had blessings; we have had them innumerable and precious; indeed, sorrows more grievous than those prayed against have been averted. But the point here urged is not the barrenness of blessing, but that of prayer; not the failure of Providence, but that of our way of securing it. What I wish noted is, not the Providence behind the clouds, but the clouds themselves, so full of death; not what may be beyond, but the great army of saints who have looked up in faith, and yet have lived long years, and died without the promised breaking of blessings on their heads.

And yet, mark you—what God Himself ought to mark—these saints have held fast to their faith. I speak with reverence, but under the full sway of natural justice, when I say, God Himself ought to mark; for the trial and the test of human love and belief in Him surpass anything borne by angel strength. Were these saints my creatures, and were

confidence in and love for me the purpose of my creation, I should consider my work a magnificent success, and I should love them, and for their sakes love all mankind also. There can be nothing in heaven—except in those who have come up from earth—like this faith. Undoubtedly these, truly estimated, have the testimony of the inner self before spoken of, but our world is not ready yet for that testimony; it does not comprehend such a thing as the inner self; what it wants is fact. This I fully believe many of God's servants possess; but too reverent to speak to the uncomprehending ear, too modest to think they have anything unusual, feeling the marked difference between their experiences and the marvellous sensational ones of old-time meetings, they hold their peace, and many a precious fact is kept a secret, comforting only the heart in which it is enshrined. If these experienced ones would come together and tell what they know, there would be discovered a mass of evidence, real and comforting, which would be very grateful to a world disappointed in and yet wanting their faith.

The world that we know questions this faith, and justly, for many of the confident claims made in the name of faith have not been verified to this world. It questions still, but not so much, I am confident, as formerly; for the fact is, after all its questionings, it is not an atheistic world; it much prefers to believe; it deems it far better to have a God to rely on. Suffering as men do, and increasing in intelligence, they reasonably ask why a God should seem to fail, and justly demand from Him a fair hearing. It is not railing unbelief that we hear, but the just demand of just men.

The prayer-hearing and prayer-answering God is on trial, or, perhaps I should say, our way of reaching Him is on trial. In my opinion, however, it means the same thing, if we take the best way we know or can know, and He has the power to guide us. The world that we know wants and will not reject a God who pities and cares like a father. More has been claimed for prayer than has in our own past been proven; but not more, perhaps, than can be proven.

I am not asking for a prayer test; I do not think the experience of Christendom justifies any expectation of success simi-

lar to that of Elijah in his controversy with the priests of Baal, even though the result asked for be merciful instead of punitive. It is possible that God would honor us in such a controversy. He certainly could, but such manifestations do not appear to be in His present programme. The indignation hurled by all Christendom against the proposed prayer test of a few years ago seemed to me to be unfair, and a confession of weakness: unfair, because we Christians had for generations been making extraordinary claims, citing even Elijah's success, and using the promises as proofs; demanding attention and assent to these claims, and denouncing the unprayerful; a confession of weakness in that we had only indignation for a proposed investigation which we ourselves had invited by our extraordinary assertions. The fact is, if our beliefs had been based on our own experience and knowledge, if we had felt confidence that God would do what we had been saying He would, we should have welcomed the test; we should have been no more indignant than a brother prophet enjoying Elijah's confidence, who had no doubt of the result; and we should have looked upon the proposers of the test as the prophet would have looked upon non-partisan heathens seeking only for fair play and truth.

But it is not a test of this kind that is wanted or that is necessary; what would be far better, and what is possible, is an exposition of the results of the real test that has been going on ever since men have prayed, especially since the end of the period of unverifiable history.

Is it not time for a new New Testament? For there are men and women, tried by the heaviest sorrows, possessing experiences treasured in their inmost hearts, the very saints, who hold their faith in the everlasting arms,

"Though all hell endeavored to shake,"

who are able to give this Testament. There is no fear that they will be sensational, or will draw on the imagination, or exaggerate; they walk in too much reverence for that. The thing is to get them to speak. Among other treasures that they have in store, I am sure they will bring us good reason to believe in a watchful Presence in our troubles, a Purpose, if

blows must come, to mitigate them; and by that Presence and that Purpose a further assurance that we are never alone. Some such reasons as the following, I mean: A man was dying; his wife, an invalid, sojourning in the South, knowing nothing of the trouble at home, simply concluded to return. Telegrams and letters missed her, so she was spared the long suspense. By easy stages she came in time to hold the hand that wanted hers the last, and to have the familiar talk so precious to the companionship that must be broken, leaving one in trust. What influence, if not of God, inspired the home-coming and turned aside the unnecessary and disturbing messages?

Such evidence as this, and more, I am sure, is stored away in modest saintly souls. The time has come for a new and better kind of experience meeting. Not that there was nothing true in the old; there was much; but there was also much of affirming on the authority of some one else who could not be interviewed, much not borne out by accessible fact. I would have experiences given again, but with the utmost caution. This is a place where "angels fear to tread," but where they—that is, the earth-born and earth-tried—and they only, are wanted. And they are wanted sorely; the world, suffering in long and incomprehensible agony, wants to know more.

Who will tell it more?

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### FAITH.

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BY RUBIE CARPENTER.

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If from the darkness of that deeper sleep  
A day should dawn unto our wondering sight,  
A strange new harbor lead us from the deep,—  
What joy supreme! what infinite delight!

But if it dawneth not; if His decree  
Should be a dreamless and eternal rest,  
A calm for weary hearts, so let it be.  
I do not question; what He does is best.

## IS FEMININE BOHEMIANISM A FAILURE?

BY EMILIE RUCK DE SCHELL.

THE last decade of the nineteenth century, made memorable by its wars and tempests, its stirring political campaigns and financial crises, will give to posterity at least one memento that shall not soon be forgotten—a wholly emancipated woman. We call her the bachelor girl, the crisp, self-sufficient woman who has put aside the Hebrew tradition of her origin, and has come to be—at least in her own estimation—the backbone of society.

In the days of our grandmothers the ultimate desire of a normal woman's heart was to be sought in marriage by some worthy man, to live for and through him. But a generation has arisen that is wiser than its predecessors, and the fallacy of the old saw, "It is not good that man—woman—should be alone," has been exposed.

The sacred institution of marriage has been assailed by both sexes alike. Problem novels have been choked down people's throats. The pulpit has too often forgotten its high calling of saving men's souls, and has turned to the more interesting task of withdrawing the hymeneal curtains and letting the morbid, sensation-seeking world stare in. Shall we wonder then that the educated girl of to-day, to whom almost every avenue of human activity has been opened, shrinks back appalled at the threshold of that chamber of horrors, and prefers to walk her way alone?

If we trace the relative conditions of man and woman from primeval barbarism to the civilization of the present, we cannot fail to observe that man, created in the image of his Maker, has kept practically the same place, while woman, by a series of almost revolutionary changes, has been constantly rising. Chivalry first elevated her to the side of man in the social world. It accomplished this end by thrusting her far above him and then permitting her to settle down to her proper place of unquestioned equality. Intellectual emanci-

pation was the next upward step for woman. Here woman, not man, struck the blow to social prejudice and achieved the greatest victory the sex has as yet won. The bluestocking, homely, severe, devoid of sentiment and tenderness, waged her grim fight against a time-hardened idea, in order that the women who came after her might enjoy an intellectual freedom such as was impossible for those that preceded her. The society woman of to-day does not have to be entertained with light gossip and bonbons. She has gone through college shoulder to shoulder with the men who seek her companionship. Her ready wit and ingenious philosophy can interest the profoundest among them.

The severely intellectual woman, who made it possible for her modern sister to become what she is, was neither loved nor admired. She sacrificed herself for the good of her sex. Perhaps the bachelor girl is following in her footsteps, an unconscious martyr to the cause of female emancipation. The world must admit that she is playing her part, not always well perhaps, in the social drama of to-day, and when the throes of the birth of a new century are past, though she may be forgotten, her influence will be indelibly stamped on the women of the next generation.

Marriage is not so nearly universal as it was a score of years ago. Nor does the term "old maid" retain its erewhile stigma. Our bachelor girl celebrates without a blush her thirtieth birthday. She might have married any one of a dozen men; but she is doing the kind of work they used to do. Her labor brings her a cash return, and she likes her liberty. The simple delights of a home—ministering to the wants of an often ungrateful, always self-centered husband; enduring periodically that experience which Hypatia said is fit only for slaves—possess no charm for her. Yet her sensitive nature cannot yield to boarding-house luck such as is taken quite as a matter of course by the men she strives to emulate. Her fertile genius has devised a way of escape both from the limitations of the home and the barrenness of the boarding-house, and Bohemianism, as we now have it, has come into being.

We are not now concerned with the familiar type of Bohemianism that has long existed in the Quartier Latin of

Paris, but rather with that phase of it that is affecting our own land—nay, the women of our land.

The average man is by nature a Bohemian until his deeper being is awakened by the touch of a woman's hand. The loose, irresponsible life of the college chapter-house or the club-room possesses a fascination for him that is irresistible until he becomes satiated with its shams and its follies. Sometimes it leaves scars that he carries deep in his heart, and memories that he would fain destroy. But the man who has drunk the last dregs of Bohemianism is the man who will select the purest woman for his wife and the most sequestered nook for his home. What is to become of his Bohemian sister when she is "sick unto death" of struggling alone with this awful problem of living? She would scorn the advances of an unsophisticated man, and for the man of the world she has been divested of her charm.

The great outside world sees only the jolly, chafing-dish side of female Bohemianism. Girls of refinement and ability, who earn their own living, comprise the majority of the Bohemians of our great cities. Their apartments are tastefully, often elegantly furnished. No chaperon is present to see that the arbitrary laws of social form are strictly observed. The men who frequent these cosy dens find in them a combination of royal entertainment and untrammeled freedom such as they can find nowhere else.

Painters, poets with more soul than business ability, musicians whose reputation is yet to be made, take to the Bohemian life. When genius has been put into harness and compelled to drag the plow through productive soil, the taste for this unconventional life will doubtless be lost. Financial success usually sounds the death-knell to sentiment and independence. But female Bohemianism has not lived long enough to reveal what will be its effect on the women who really succeed. As yet it is only an experiment.

We have spoken of the free, delightful side of Bohemianism. The man who has participated in the creating of a Welsh rarebit and has tossed his cigarette-stumps into the grate while he told ludicrous stories, sometimes with a bit of ginger in them, needs no exposition of this side of the ques-

tion. He perhaps never dreams that those same girls who know how to entertain so royally and laugh so merrily, know, too, how to conceal an aching heart beneath a mask of smiles. A single day from my own experience will illustrate this point.

My companion in tribulation is an artist whose genius is inversely commensurate with the appalling paverty of her purse. I had been doing space work for a daily newspaper at four dollars a column and getting my novel ready for publication. We discovered one morning that we were approaching the line where the two sides of the bank account balance, and, in a frenzy of apprehension, I staked everything on a political paper that I thought decidedly clever. An Eastern journal that was using a variety of political stuff seemed to be the proper place for my little satire.

"Agnes, if this doesn't go," I remarked grimly as I folded the typewritten sheets, "and if Mr. Brown doesn't pay you for that portrait, we are going to starve."

Three days passed and that never-to-be-forgotten day dawned. The postman's ring awakened us. Three letters he thrust under the door, two for Agnes and one for me. As she tore open the first she remarked:

"I hope the old chump is satisfied with his wife's portrait and has sent me a cheque."

In a moment she lay back on her pillow with a groan of disgust.

"Something wrong with the left eye; must have another sitting," she remarked dismally.

The other envelope contained a bill for her art lessons.

At the sight of my own letter my heart had sunk so low that I had not yet summoned sufficient courage to tear open the envelope. I had grown accustomed to welcoming home the adventurous children of my fancy—the "reader" somehow knows why two red stamps are enclosed—but this time I had hoped my manuscript would not be returned. There was a polite little note from the editor informing me that my article was good, but that his last political issue had just gone to press. He was sure I could place my manuscript elsewhere.

Something desperate had to be done. We could not go to

our relatives and appeal for help. That were treason against Bohemianism!

An influential friend had promised to go with me that morning to the editor of one of the evening papers, with a view to obtaining for me a position on his staff. I called at the gentleman's office at the appointed time. He was out—had probably forgotten the engagement, the stenographer told me. Choking down my disappointment, I went to the office of the paper to which I had been a contributor. The Sunday editor informed me that there would be no room in the next Sunday's issue for my customary love story. I was too proud to tell him that I needed the five dollars that story ought to bring me; but he saw the distress in my eyes. After a moment's reflection he said:

“Here, you take this out to my friend Smith. He sometimes uses stories in his paper.”

I left the office with my two pieces of manuscript, and as I walked out into the street a mute appeal for help and courage went up from my heart.

The editor glared at me out of a pair of whiskey-bleared eyes as I meekly told him the purpose of my visit.

“Got no time for literary work. Can't use anything but political stuff now. Come in after the election and I may find time to talk to you,” he growled.

There was a great lump in my throat, and my lips quivered; but the case was too desperate to permit my feelings to be taken into consideration.

“I have some political stuff that I believe you will like,” I ventured to say.

“Oh, you women are a nuisance! I can't bother with your stuff!” And he bolted from the room.

“Don't mind him,” the city editor said sympathetically. “He is worried with this campaign and is unusually gruff. I believe you can sell your political article to our morning paper. But I would advise you not to go to the editor-in-chief. He will treat you worse than our man did.”

“I have had some experience with the man Eugene Field made the hero of one of his brightest poems,” I said, “and I would rather face a lion in his den than face him.”

As I was leaving the office I remembered that the editor of the leading monthly magazine had asked me to do some translating for him. I called at his office, but he was busy. "Come in after the election," he said rather brusquely.

I summoned all my courage for the next call. As I entered the office of the associate editor on our wealthiest newspaper, I found, sitting at his desk, my *bête noire*, the editor-in-chief. I will not relate my experience with him. Poor wretch! He found life unbearable and ended it with the dying year. Suffice it to say, I left his presence crushed and humiliated.

Still I did not give up. There was a spicy little magazine in town that sometimes used political stuff, and I called upon its editor.

"Sorry, but we have just slipped into the Irish Sea and have suspended publication," he said politely.

On the street I met a friend. "I saw the directory man last night and he said he had a piece of work for you," he told me.

At last help had come! With a heart full of gratitude I hurried to the directory building. The work was simple enough. Eight thousand envelopes to be addressed. The work must be done at the office and done with a pen. The price to be paid was seventy-five cents a thousand. I figured out the cost of car-fare and luncheon and found that I could earn thirty cents a day by working ten hours. I had not yet come down to sweating-shop labor, so I thanked the clerk and went my way.

It was not yet five o'clock, but the atmosphere seemed thick and black around me, and a great cloud of despair settled down over my spirit.

When I reached home, Agnes had not yet returned from her painting lesson. I was alone and I thought I should go mad. Out into the street in the twilight I fled, not caring whither my steps led me. The first person I met was an artist who had spent many a jolly evening in our den. He had seen the sketches Agnes had made of me, and he needed a model.

"You have exactly the figure I need, and I will pay you three dollars a day to pose for me," he said.

"But not in the nude?" I said, doubtfully.

"Why, of course," he laughed. "You pose for Agnes, why not for me?"

This proposition, from a friend whose respect I thought I had never forfeited, humiliated me, and there was just a shade of indignation in my voice as I declined.

This last incident in my "dark day" leads me to speak of another pitfall for the Bohemian girl. City-bred girls are comparatively safe in the hands of even the most unprincipled men, for they have been trained in the ways of the world and know how to take care of themselves. But the girls who fall into Bohemian ways are too often gifted girls whose country or village homes have denied them scope for the exercise of their talents. The glowing cheeks and fresh, unsophisticated manners of these daughters of a purer atmosphere cannot but be attractive to the blasé man of the world. A little delicate flattery begins the game. Next comes a stolen caress in the dark hall. Then she smokes a cigarette with him, or sips a glass of wine—he has noticed that she is looking pale of late and needs a harmless stimulant. So one by one the barriers are broken down.

If she stands on a foundation of firm principle, he will be cautious and reverential, awaiting his opportunity. She fondly imagines that he loves her, and she is weary of the endless struggle and the bitter disillusionments of her Bohemian existence, and longs for the sweet repose of a home. She is ready to fling the dream of glory back into the night from whence it sprang and live only for him. When he has brought her to this point he invites her to accompany him to the theatre. He has done so often before. Then there is the usual elegant supper, finished off with a glass of champagne. On the way to the car he remembers a bit of pressing business that ought to be attended to at once, and begs her to stop with him just for a moment.

"The man is busy, but will be called. Just step into the reception-room," the porter says; and without a shadow of suspicion she walks into the trap that has been set for her. The door is shut, and she is told that she is in a private assig-

nation-house. To resist were folly; to cry out, worse than vain, for there is no one to hear.

If she is sensitive and high-souled she flings her polluted body into the river next day, and nobody charges that man with her murder. If she is "of the earth, earthy," she becomes his mistress, and, in time, joins the great army of lost women, and nobody charges that man with the murder of her soul.

O mothers, do you realize the anguish, the hopelessness, into which you are sending your defenseless children? The girl who is physically and morally strong may go through Bohemia unscathed, but woe unto the sensitive and the frail!

Did God, after all, know what He was about when He ordained that man and woman should become one flesh; that woman should ever be the tender, clinging companion, and that man should be her protector?

We are prone to cry out that our civilization is all wrong, and that we must revert to barbarism in order to get a right start. Yet what seems a fatal mistake may really be a part of a wise plan for the ultimate good of humanity. How many precious lives have been sacrificed for every victory the world has won!

The girl who has had a glimpse of this seamy side of human nature can never become a simple, trusting wife; but she may be a more enlightened companion and a wiser helpmeet because of her own experience. Surely she will be a wiser mother than her own mother was. Her children will be few, for she will marry when her prolific period is past; but they will be all the world to her. She has quaffed the foaming glass of life, and, alas! she knows that there are bitter dregs at the bottom.

Her daughters will find in her a sympathetic companion. Her sons will look upon her, not as an innocent little mother who can be duped by all sorts of ingenious tales, but as a wise counsellor who can guide them through the perilous path of their adolescence.

We are living in an age not only of history-making, but of problem-solving. The maids of to-day will be the mothers of to-morrow,—the mothers of our statesmen and philosophers. Then shall we not place in their hands the torch of knowledge ere they pass the perilous boundary of Bohemia?

## A PAYING PHILANTHROPY: THE MILLS HOTEL.

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BY REV. T. ALEXANDER HYDE, B.D., B.A.

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NO deed is ever done by man to his fellow men but influences for weal or woe the condition of humanity at large. The condition of our neighbors will in the end modify our own condition. The existence of evils, though in neighborhoods far removed from our abode, still exerts a deadening influence upon ourselves. The human race is one in the possession of certain constitutional elements and civil and social privileges. Whatever influences these for good or evil, raises not only a local wave, but a tidal inundation. Disease and filth, accumulated in the slums of great cities, have a destructive influence also upon the Fifth Avenues of wealth. In vain do we surround our homes with the best sanitary conditions, with wealth and happiness, if the homes of any portion of the inhabitants of the same city are surrounded by squalor, dirt, and poverty. We may fancy ourselves secure in our luxurious baths, well-drained surroundings, and well-ventilated rooms, but a blast of wind from the filthy neighborhood or a ragged beggar passing the door may bring disease to our children. Besides, even if there were no danger, the nobility and manhood of our race are degraded by the misery and poverty of even a small tribe of its members. The rich and well-kept may lift up their heads, pass by the neighborhoods of the unfortunate, and sneer at their ignorance and poverty, but it is still a great truth that the poor condition of these people degrades the standard of our manhood. Instead of rejoicing that we are not as some other men are, we should ask ourselves the question, Why should any man have to starve or to live in a pestilential neighborhood? Is there no way by which all can enjoy the common inheritance of our race, pure air, wholesome food, and healthy shelter? In other words, is it not possible to diminish or abolish poverty? Is it compatible

with our own happiness that so many of our fellows are doomed to live in dens of squalor?

This is a great question, and its solution is far more important than all the battles waged for national supremacy in the history of the world. Some day this great problem will be solved, and the horror of death by hunger and filth will be a thing of the past. At the present hour some noble men and women are struggling, not to abolish the evils of social surroundings, for that is not yet practical, but to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate and to limit the ravages of ignorance, neglect, and poverty. In this direction the crusade against the unsanitary surroundings of the homes of the laboring poor is a most important achievement. The destruction of old, dilapidated, fever-breeding houses, where squalor and misery have held high carnival so long that nothing but fire and smoke can cleanse them, and the erection of neat, comfortable houses on the site of the ruins constitute a work which not only improves that neighborhood, but has a beneficial effect upon the entire community. It is a glorious sight to see the cleanly stones arise upon the sites where rotten timbers once harbored the germs of disease. In tearing down these dens of misery, a moral good results, crime diminishes, and the number of people who love cleanliness and health is increased. It is a sad and sickening sight to stand in the slums of the great cities of London, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston and see how very many of our brothers live. Hardly one gleam of sunshine can enter their homes, danger lurks in the air they breathe, fever in the water they drink; and no mine ever laid under the walls of a city can destroy more than the unsanitary surroundings of their houses. In such regions the calls of the doctor and the undertaker are as necessary as the visits of the grocer and the butcher.

Among the noble efforts put forth by the men and women of our country to ameliorate the condition of those who have to live in such regions, we would call attention to the plan of D. O. Mills, a New York millionaire, as most worthy of mention. This gentleman has erected a large hotel in the very heart of a region in New York City where unsanitary and immoral conditions have prevailed so long that periodic

raids were necessary to break up the dens of vice that openly flourished under the very eyes of respectable citizens. The Mills Hotel, as it is called, is designed to meet the wants of a large number of people, unfortunately ever growing larger because of our industrial system, who have no home, parental or conjugal, in the great cities — men who come from the country, the unemployed looking for work, commercial travellers, clerks, and business men temporarily or permanently in the city. To such the hotel opens rooms and lunch counters of high excellence at very low rates. The inexperienced youth from the suburban districts may now come to New York and find lodgings for the night as safe as in his own home. The hotel meets the wants of the unmarried class of the male population (women are not admitted as lodgers). As this enterprise, though not the first of its kind, is probably the largest and best equipped in the world, it is well worth a careful study on the part of those who desire to improve the condition of men, and for this reason we shall try to describe at least its most prominent features.

The building is a magnificent structure, built of clean gray stone, and it stands a model of splendid workmanship in a region where degeneracy in architectural skill had stretched its grave-like hand for many years. The situation is east and west, on Bleecker Street, one block from the Sixth Avenue Elevated Railroad, and within five minutes' walk of Broadway. The interior arrangements would be pronounced elegant even in the most fashionable hotels in the city. A marble staircase leads up into the marble foyer, from which access is had to every part of the building. Along the corridors are potted plants, green and flowering. Uniformed officers stand at the doors, in the hallway, and near the elevators ready to give information or assistance. It has a well-equipped registry office, where keys are handed to those who engage rooms. In truth, when one first enters he cannot help the conviction that he is standing in halls and corridors superior in magnificence to many high-priced hotels. The restaurants in the basement are reached by separate staircases leading directly from the main entrance. The first floor, on its different elevations, contains the offices, reading-rooms,

lavatories, and baths. The nine floors above contain the sleeping-rooms. Of these there are 1,560, one-half opening on the street, and the remainder on the square courts. The uniform size of the rooms is 5 x 8 feet, though the corner rooms are twice as large as the others, and may have two windows. Modern ideas prevail in the arrangement of these rooms so as to supply good ventilation compatible with great numbers. The square court, with its glass-covered roof, and the long corridors permit a free and full ventilation and also sunshine to all the rooms.

In order to secure this great capacity every available space is made serviceable; even the floors and partitions are built upon the expanded metal system. Expanded metal is made from sheet iron, which has a great bearing surface, and when embedded in concrete mortar is enormously strong, so that light floors and partitions of great sustaining power, equal in stability to brick walls, may be constructed from this material, affording not only security from collapse or spreading, but safety from fire and disease germs. In passing from one section to another of the great building, it is surprising to see how easily accessible and comfortable is every part of the mammoth structure. Nothing seems to be wanting; there are no crooked staircases, no unexpected steps or clumsy corridors like those found in the old-fashioned hotels, but order and convenience reign everywhere. The dormitory floors are reached by three sets of elevators.

A very striking feature in the Mills building is the glass-covered courts, which utilize space that in other hotels is generally not available for practical purposes. These courts are elegant if not gorgeous. In the evening, when hundreds of the guests of the hotel gather here after their daily toil to spend an hour of pleasure, so animated is the scene that the courts with their glass roofs appear more like summer gardens. So perfect is the ventilation that even the smoke from several hundred cigars or pipes does not vitiate the air. In these courts the guests can play games, chat, read, and amuse themselves in various ways. Adjoining these courts are the libraries, with their shelves of books, and reading-rooms with daily papers and periodicals. Quiet reigns here, and men

may be seen busily studying volumes not often found in hotels. Abundant opportunity is given for indoor amusements; tables with outfits for checkers, chess, dominoes are supplied free by the hotel, while among the resident guests it is never difficult to find expert players who make entertainment for the others.

The baths are a very attractive feature. Not only are there extensive rows of single stands where the guests can perform their daily ablutions, but there are bath-rooms with modern fixtures, hot and cold water, and shower and sprinkle attachments, where the guest can be alone and enjoy a most luxurious bath for the small price of nothing. In other hotels these baths are charged extra. Provision is also made for laundry purposes. The guest may if he choose do his own washing, places being provided for that purpose, including a marvellous quick dryer. Anyone overtaken by a shower can have his clothes dried in a very short time, and if infectious disease should by chance enter the hotel, it may be effectually guarded against by steam and hot-air disinfection.

The restaurants in the basement are well equipped, and equal to many of the high-priced hotels. A meal of wholesome, well-cooked food may be obtained for fifteen cents. Besides the regular dinner with its menu of soup, meat, vegetables, dessert, and tea, coffee, or milk, all for fifteen cents, there is a special bill of fare with wide choice of articles from which a good meal for twenty cents can be made, equal to a fifty-cent dinner in the average hotels.

In this hotel a guest can live comfortably for fifty-five to seventy-five cents per day, bedroom and meals inclusive. For that sum he can enjoy all the privileges of a first-class hotel, besides many others for which in such an hotel extra fees are charged. For instance, twenty cents a night procures a bedroom with enamelled iron bedstead, hair mattresses, hair and feather pillows, and excellent bedding, spacious and superb sitting-rooms, reading and smoking rooms, fine baths, steam heat, and electric light. No exasperating extras are inserted in the bill for this or that little service.

The mention of a twenty-cent hotel naturally suggests a low grade of guests, the shabby, unkempt, and shiftless kind. Those who deem that high prices are necessary to debar the unwashed multitude will be agreeably disappointed in their visits to the Mills Hotel. The patrons are as a whole respectable, clean, orderly, and well-dressed gentlemen. This hotel, with its nineteenth-century improvements, is welcomed even by those who have been inmates of hotels where the charge is from two to five dollars a day. It is no exaggeration to say that the patrons of this hotel are similar to those found in the \$2.00-a-day boarding hotels; drummers, clerks, professional men, artists, and laborers soon accommodate themselves in their personal habits to the elegant surroundings of the hotel. The Mills enterprise proves beyond a doubt that refined surroundings rather than high prices attract the best patrons. I have heard eminent men say they would rather stay at the Mills Hotel than in the fashionable hotels, for in the former there is no public bar, hence the profanity and disorder incident to that institution are not found in the Mills Hotel. Then again, the Mills enterprise demonstrates that the sale of liquor on the premises is not necessary for the financial success of a first-class hotel.

It might be supposed by some that the small sum of \$1.40 per week would hardly cover the expense of necessary attendance, and that the hotel would be much inferior to others in this regard. It must indeed be a very difficult task to manage successfully 1,500 or more guests, many of them coming and going all the time. Such a gathering is equal to a regiment in the army. Yet the hotel is efficiently managed in this respect, there being at its head an able manager aided by 150 employees. Order and regularity are maintained by the enforcement of a few simple rules. One can form a faint idea of the lodging capacity of this large building by standing in the hallway between 6.30 A. M. and 9.30 A. M. It takes considerable time for 1,500 men to pass out, a crowd equal in numbers to the voting population of a town or large village.

We have no object in lauding Mr. Mills and his building. Our professional duties often call upon us to investigate en-

terprises aiming to ameliorate the condition of the industrious poor. We have visited similar enterprises in Great Britain, and are inclined to think that in some respects the Mills building is ahead of all. It is not a benevolent or charitable enterprise. Mr. Mills has invested a large capital and is willing to accept a small profit. Yet he claims that, although he has always entertained a strong desire to elevate the surroundings of men, in this instance he believes in the enterprise as a satisfactory business project. He who expects something for nothing will be disappointed, but he who wishes for accommodations equal to those of a \$1.00-per-day hotel for twenty cents will surely find it in the Mills building.

In whatever way we look at the enterprise we cannot help the conviction that many doubtful schemes for the improvement of the surroundings of those whose pocket-book is small have been realized. It demonstrates clearly what can be done by large capital. Small enterprises are necessarily limited, but large capital can furnish all modern improvements. The result has been satisfactory in a business sense; the attendance since the opening has been large, and it is increasing. Its success is certainly an encouragement for men of wealth or even small capitalists to combine and do likewise. Then again, the enterprise is a practical argument in favor of doing all we can to aid the lowly. It has been said again and again that the "filthy" would be "filthy still;" that even if the surroundings of such a class were improved they would not take advantage of them. In the case of the Mills building the guests have availed themselves eagerly of its great modern improvements. The opportunity for frequent bathing has not been neglected; and we do not recollect ever looking upon a more cleanly, sober, and intelligent class of men assembled in the parlors of high-priced hotels. The clerk, bookkeeper, drummer, the man out of employment, the clergyman, tradesman, and laborer sit at the same table or in the same reading-room, and order, neatness, and comfort reign. Intemperate men are not admitted, and liquor is not sold on the premises. During the time I stayed there sampling its restaurants, beds, and libraries I

never heard a profane or vulgar expression or saw a man the worse for liquor. Who could say as much for any high-priced hotel in the United States?

Improve the surroundings of the people; that is, remove filth and other unsanitary conditions, and temptations to vice and crime will diminish. The best way to extirpate laziness, shiftlessness, filthy habits, and theft is to destroy the slums and erect substantial houses. Too long have enterprises like that of Mr. Mills been delayed by the foolish objection that some people are too low to appreciate improvement. The truth is that men are often the products of their environment; improve this and you improve the breed of men. The self-respecting citizen of to-day may remember that he owes his advancement to the improvement of his surroundings; his father may have lived in squalor. But banish poverty and filth, and men no longer love it. Science has now come strongly to the aid of philanthropy. Not only does it teach the nature of sanitation, but it can manufacture cheaply what aforesome were costly luxuries. It is possible for the peasant to sleep and live as the prince did in former times.

The Mills building makes provision more especially for the great army of the unmarried, ever increasing, whose wages are too low to permit of marriage. To these it affords comfortable quarters at the lowest possible cost. But the surroundings of the married class need to be improved. Marriage must be upheld, and the objection to it under the head of insufficient wages should be removed as far as possible. In the slum districts houses should be erected with all modern improvements. Old buildings should be pulled down, and bright cheerful houses built in their stead.

In all these efforts for the improvement of the laboring class it should be borne in mind that the competitive law of our individual system tends to rob the poor of the blessings flowing from improved and cheapened surroundings. The less that it takes to support the laborer, capital contrives to get the advantage by reduction of wages. In this way unmarried men are often able to work for less than the married, hence employers will take that kind of help in preference

to the married. It is a disgrace that every improvement made for the poor should generally simply enable them to work for less in the interest of their employers.

The need of such enterprises as the Mills Hotel is a pressing one in all our large cities, and offers an opportunity for the wise investment of money. The slatternly boarding-houses of our large cities must give place to the clean and orderly hotel. The danger of young men who are obliged to lodge in these low places has never been appreciated. Many of both sexes have made their first acquaintance with vice in the cheap lodging-houses. Many of them are private dens of sin, filth, and disease, so much so that in New York they are commonly called "morgues." If the Mills Hotel had accomplished no other good than diminishing the number of such houses by its cheap lodging rates, it would be enough to earn for its founder the title of "bene-factor of his kind." Since the opening of the Mills Hotel the number of these low places has been diminished, and they are now patronized only by those who prefer filth, vileness, and squalor to cleanliness, comfort, and order. An effort should now be made to banish even the last of these dens by coöperative enterprise, that is, by aggregating small capital or private donations into large sums sufficient to build houses and hotels for the wretchedly poor, and to supply food at cost price. Such enterprises will help into the sunshine many who need only that the evils of their surroundings should be removed to enter upon a noble life.

The success of the Mills enterprise has been received with enthusiastic joy by most philanthropists as pointing the way to other needful reforms. Already an hotel for women on the same plan as that of the Mills has been suggested. It is needless to say that, so long as our industrial system discourages marriage and puts a premium on celibacy, such an hotel is necessary. Efforts in this direction have been tried in New York before, and have failed, but if managed according to the plan of the Mills Hotel there is no reason to despair of success.

But great as is the achievement of Mr. Mills in establishing his hotel, his other more recent efforts in a similar direc-

tion are probably an even more commendable enterprise. He is now employing his wealth in erecting in the rear of his hotel on Sullivan Street a block of model tenements. The apartments will be fitted with all modern sanitary arrangements, and they will be a great boon to the families now crowded into miserable tenements. This is one of the most desirable objects a philanthropist can achieve. The family is the bulwark of morals, nay, of the very life of the nation. It is not desirable to weaken in any way its influence. When compared with family apartments, hotels are a necessary evil. It is better to say of a city that it is a community of homes rather than one of lodging hotels. If hotels must exist, let them be on the plan of the Mills Hotel, fully equipped and as far as possible removed from immoral surroundings. Those who have given our industrial system a close study cannot help the sad feeling that it tends to break up the family relation and to destroy home influence. If men and women are valuable only for their cheap labor, then, in the view of the employer, everything that tends to their improvement and elevation must be subordinated to that one factor. It is hardly necessary to state that, while this valuation of men and women prevails, the loftiest schemes of the philanthropist are doomed to fail.

Again and again have we seen the improved and cheapened accommodations of the surroundings of the laboring class lead in the end to a decrease in wages. The sharp tooth of competition soon pierces the altered conditions, and the eye of capital generally discerns that a laborer whose meals cost only fifteen cents each, and lodgings twenty cents, can work for less than when he paid twenty-five and fifty cents.

It is a sad commentary on our commercial system that even the kindest schemes for the elevation of our fellows are destroyed by its barbarous laws. The good we do is often turned to evil. The provision we make for the bachelor class often renders it harder for the married to maintain their families, for bachelor and female labor is cheaper than parental. Hence such enterprises as the Mills Hotel, cheap restaurants, and public farming are merely local palliatives of a long-standing disease. Until we introduce a new

industrial system, the poor, the shiftless, and the immoral we shall always have with us. This is not said to discourage these local efforts. They are better than nothing; they are better far than indifference. They are promoted by the kindest feelings; and their promoters are not to blame if a murderous industrial system, fit only for a barbarous age, frustrates all their efforts for good. But perhaps these attempts to better the condition of our fellows will call into action a greater number of earnest people, and some day a plan acceptable to all may be discovered that will free the wage-earner from his awful bondage.

In the meantime enterprises like those of the Mills Hotel are much needed, and it is to be hoped that others will soon be started in all the great cities of America. The question of capital may suggest itself to many who would like to imitate the Mills plan. It is roughly estimated (not officially) that Mr. Mills has invested over a million in his hotel. It is the size of the investment that has made his plan successful. Small capital is now doomed to take its place with wooden ploughs and spades. Large capital has its hour, and unless it be righteously employed a greater slavery will shackle men than the world has ever beheld at any time in history. Though large capital is necessary to such enterprises, the same results could be obtained by a combination of small means, controlled by committees. Philanthropists in every city might unite and make large capital possible, for investment in schemes of reform such as the Mills Hotel and the Mills model tenements.

## SCIENCE AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

IT is not my purpose in this paper to discuss the potential value to the race of a general acceptance of the major claims advanced by those who, through long and patient investigation, have come to accept the reality of phenomena of a supernormal character, nor yet to examine the various elaborate, ingenious, and in some instances commanding theories and philosophies advanced to explain or complement these alleged manifestations, but rather to notice the contested premise in this battle of giants over what hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of people have come to regard as a new continent of knowledge, a further extension of the evolutionary theory as it relates to man's advance.\*

The student of psychical phenomena is met at the very threshold of his research with a perplexing array of contradictory testimony relating to matters of evidence, and tenaciously held by leading scientists and those accustomed to modern critical methods. In other fields of inquiry one frequently encounters numerous theories, but they are based on some generally accepted facts. Here, however, the conflict among scientific thinkers is most pronounced over the *verity* of

\*The Rev. Minot J. Savage, of the church of the Messiah, New York, a critical and scientific student of great ability, and now recognized as the foremost Unitarian clergyman in America, makes the following interesting observations in his valuable work entitled "Psychics: Fact and Theories" (preface, page 9): "People often ask why, if there is anything in these so-called manifestations, they have waited all the ages and have not appeared before. There are stories of similar happenings as marking every age of history, but, as reported, they have been only occasional, and they have not attracted any serious study. Let us notice the stages of evolution as having a possible bearing on this point: first, muscle ruled the world; then came cunning, the lower form of brain power; next the intellect became recognized as king; after that the moral ideal showed itself mightier than muscle or brain; to-day it is the strongest force on earth; no king dare go to war without claiming, at least, that his cause is a righteous one. Now, it is not meant that either of these has ruled the world alone, for they have overlapped each other, as have the advancing forms of life; and as heralding the advent of each new stage of life, these have been tentative and sporadic manifestations of the next higher, while still the lower was dominant. Is it not then in line with all that has gone before that the next step should be a larger and higher manifestation of the spiritual; and, in this case, are not the tentative and sporadic manifestations reported from the past just what might have been expected? 'That was not first which is spiritual, but which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual.'"

alleged phenomena; and this conflict, and other perplexing facts, lead many earnest truth-seekers to abandon investigation before they have proceeded far enough to be competent to form an intelligent conclusion relating even to the reality of supernormal manifestations. This difference of opinion among men thoroughly competent to investigate most phenomena, though unfortunate, is not surprising when we bear in mind the many obstacles which necessarily beset the path of the pioneer in an unknown realm of investigation. It is only during the past half-century that psychical phenomena have received anything like rational consideration from leading thinkers of Western civilization; and less than a generation has passed since a body of scientists and scholars trained in modern critical methods of research have undertaken the investigation of psychical problems with the desire, not to further any special philosophy or to make facts and results fit some preconceived theory, but simply to arrive at the truth by methods which would appeal to the candid judgment of nineteenth-century critical thought, and if possible to discover the underlying laws governing these phenomena. Moreover, there is no field of scientific research where there are so many obstacles to overcome or where prejudice from so many different classes has to be met as in the domain of psychical science.

This becomes apparent when we remember: (1) That in this department of research we are as yet ignorant of the very laws governing the phenomena, and that therefore there must necessarily be much patient and painstaking experimental work, collecting data, and sifting evidence before we can hope to arrive at the fundamental laws under which this class of phenomena takes place. Investigators here are much like the colonist who confronts an untrod forest and finds it necessary to cut his way through the jungle to the highlands beyond, from which he can survey the surrounding country. No path is beaten, no trees are blazed, and but little light from the past falls through the tanglewood before him. He must be a pioneer, a pathfinder for future generations. (2) Another very real difficulty which students of supernormal phenomena encounter is found in the peculiar organization of the sensitives, or psychics. They are necessarily negative, or passive

at least, when the alleged phenomena are taking place, and thus are liable to come under the subtle and little-understood influences which so largely affect and mould the thought world and its manifestations. Moreover, it does not appear that moral rectitude on the part of the psychic is necessary for the manifestation of at least some phases of psychical phenomena. (3) Perhaps nothing has occasioned so much perplexity, doubt, and suspicion, and consequently so wide a diversity of opinion among honest investigators as the conditions which are frequently claimed to be essential to the manifestation of many phases of psychical phenomena. The unfortunate fact that these conditions have afforded a possibility for unprincipled charlatans and frauds to resort to deception and trickery has resulted in awakening suspicion in the minds of those unacquainted with the subject on all such manifestations, and has led many well-meaning persons to become so unreasonably skeptical as to lead them to take positions so extreme as to be unscientific. Many persons claim that unless they are allowed to prescribe the conditions they will not investigate; and they seemingly imagine that this attitude is praiseworthy. They would hardly, however, applaud the man who refused to believe the fact of telegraphy because he could not transmit messages over rope instead of wire; nor would they consider the farmer a wise man who should insist on putting his corn and potatoes on the surface of the earth instead of in the ground, on the theory that he had a right to make the conditions of growth, and that the corn and potatoes ought to do as well out of the soil and in the light as under the sod and in the dark. In this connection Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace makes the following thoughtful observations:

"Scientific men almost invariably assume that in this inquiry they should be permitted at the very outset to impose conditions, and if under such conditions nothing happens, they consider it proof of imposture or delusion. But they well know, in all other branches of research, Nature, not they, determines the essential conditions, without a compliance with which no experiment will succeed. These conditions have to be learned by patient questioning of Nature, and they are

different for each branch of science. How much more must they be expected to differ in an inquiry which deals with subtle forces of nature of which the physicist is wholly and absolutely ignorant. To ask to be allowed to deal with these unknown phenomena as he has hitherto dealt with known phenomena is practically to prejudge the question, since it assumes that both are governed by the same laws.”\*

To the peculiar difficulties, such as we have mentioned, which beset the patient and sincere student of psychical phenomena, must be added the hostile and intolerant attitude of conventional thought, of creedal theology, and of materialistic physical science. At first sight it seems strange that this formidable trinity should offer united opposition to anything which hinted at a future life and an extension of man knowledge; and yet when we remember that conservatism is accustomed to ridicule all that is new, bold, and out of the accepted order, the seeming strangeness disappears. Theology is often more jealous of its dogmas than solicitous for the spread of the noble ethics which more or less leavens all earth’s great religions, and it resolutely opposes any theory of another life which cannot be fitted to the Procrustean bed of religious dogma. Physical science, on the other hand, largely represents the reactionary spirit which, from the open-mouthed credulity of the Middle Ages and the subserviency of reason and judgment to blind faith, has swept to the extreme of materialism, and frequently manifests an intolerance to all suggestion of a future life which is altogether foreign to the true scientific spirit. In its narrowness this opposition of physical scientists has often resembled the unreasoning and unphilosophical attitude which these same thinkers have so bitterly denounced in clergymen when the latter have attacked the evolutionary theory. Thus, these powerful influences—an alarmed theology, an arrogant materialism, and the unreasoning prejudice of conventionalism—have sought to discredit psychical science and place under the ban even pro-

\* From “A Defence of Modern Spiritualism,” published originally in the *Fortnightly Review*, and republished in “Miracles and Modern Spiritualism,” by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace. D. C. L., LL. D., F. R. S. London, 1886, George Redway, publisher.

found philosophers and critical scientists who, after years of exhaustive study, have become convinced of the truth of supernormal phenomena.

The prominence given to real or alleged exposés of fraudulent manifestations and the confessions of discredited tricksters, by religious periodicals and sensational newspapers which find it more profitable to cater to popular prejudice than to earnestly attempt to arrive at the truth, has led tens of thousands of people to hastily and inconsiderately reach conclusions without any real evidential foundation on which to base their opinions. In the past, a veritable tyro found no difficulty in securing admission into the columns of conservative journals and gaining notoriety by an alleged exposure of psychical phenomena or a pretended explanation of manifestations which relegated them to the domain of fraud on the part of the psychic and delusion on the part of investigators. Persons whose investigations, when they have made any, have been very slight and of so superficial a character as to show that the investigators were absolutely incompetent to speak intelligently on this subject, and who were unknown to the scientific or intellectual world, have frequently appeared in print sneering at the patient labor and assured results of some of the earth's greatest scientists and most careful investigators—men like Camille Flammarion, Professor Oliver Lodge, Sir William Crookes, and Dr. Wallace—and these shallow and superficial critics are elevated to pedestals of authority merely because they speak in a strain pleasing to that conventionalism which has ever opposed the real leaders of the world's thought—the advance guard of truth and progress. Athens applauded the pressing of the hemlock to the lips of her greatest and noblest philosopher; popular prejudice sanctioned the burning of Bruno and the imprisonment of Galileo; the medical profession ridiculed Harvey and Braid; yet the apostles of truth live in the eternal galaxy of civilization's chosen sons, while the detractors and the multitude who assisted in the effort to discredit or destroy them are forgotten. If what has been true of progress in the thought world in all past ages shall prove true in this latest field of research, the future will place in the constellation of the immortals such patient sci-

tists and careful investigators as Wallace, Crookes, Varley, Lodge, Sedgwick, Myers, Flammarion, James, and Hodgson, all of whom have brought to their work, together with honesty of purpose and a passion for truth, the modern critical and scientific methods, such as are used in unravelling the mysteries of physical science; while the shallow and flippant critics who airily dismiss facts as fiction and thereby win the applause of popular prejudice, will be remembered, if at all, only with pity and compassion.

He who seeks the applause of to-day and cares little for the truth is quite safe in ridiculing those things which are so little understood as to be popularly disbelieved; but such a course is impossible for the conscientious truth-seeker, as it is also unscientific. To the philosopher, no truth is insignificant, no fact is trivial. Especially is this the case when the fact relates to a subject about which little is known. Just as a seemingly inconsequential happening connected with a crime frequently proves to be the clue that leads to the detection of the criminal, so a simple rapping on a table or the moving of a heavy body, if such a thing actually takes place without physical agency or control, may in the hands of patient, tireless investigators unlock unsuspected mysteries and reveal new laws, or lead to an extension of known truth that will be of inestimable value to science. Victor Hugo has expressed this thought admirably:

"Table turning or talking has been much laughed at; to speak plainy, this raillery is out of place. To replace inquiry by mockery is convenient but not scientific. For our part, we think it is the strict duty of science to test all phenomena; science is ignorant and has no right to laugh. A savant who laughs at the possible is very near being an idiot. The unexpected ought always to be expected by science; her duty is to stop it in its flight and examine it, rejecting the chimerical and establishing the real. All human knowledge is but picking and culling, the circumstance that the false is mingled with the true furnishing no excuse for rejecting the whole mass. When was the tare an excuse for refusing the corn? Hoe out the weed error, but reap the fact and place it beside the others. Science is a sheaf of facts! The mission of science

is to study and sound everything. All of us according to our degree are creditors of investigation; we are its debtors also. To evade a phenomenon, to show it the door, to turn our backs on it laughing, is to make truth a bankrupt and to leave the signature of science to be protested. The phenomenon of the table is entitled, like anything else, to investigation. Psychical science will gain by it without doubt. Let us add, that to abandon phenomena to credulity is to commit treason against human reason."\*

Perhaps, in no field of investigation has the power of pre-conceived ideas or deep-rooted prejudice so obscured reason and judgment as in this department of research. Indeed, here, men who claim to rigidly employ modern critical or scientific methods in other lines of investigation, and who, we should suppose, would feel in honor bound to exhaustively investigate a great problem about which there is so much diversity of opinion, come before the world after a most superficial investigation and put their opinion, colored by prejudice, against the assured results obtained after a quarter of a century of tireless experimenting by those who are their peers or superiors in the departments of physical science in which they have already won laurels. I cannot better illustrate this point than by citing the cases of some eminent men of science—the late Prof. Huxley, for example. After Dr. Wallace had exhaustively investigated psychical phenomena during a period of many years, and had become profoundly convinced of the truth of these supernormal manifestations, he induced Prof. Huxley to attend a séance. From the outset, however, Prof. Huxley displayed that prejudice and intolerance which he so often charged the clergy as manifesting against the theory of evolution. He even went so far as to make the following astounding declaration: "Supposing the phenomena to be genuine, they do not interest me."†

Dr. Wallace, however, succeeded in getting the Professor to attend one or two séances, at which the results were not

\* "William Shakespere," by Victor Hugo, Book 2, "Men of Genius."

† Letter by Prof. Huxley to the committee of the London Dialectical Society, quoted by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace in "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," p. 281.

satisfactory or conclusive, whereupon Prof. Huxley refused to further pursue his investigations, and later sneeringly referred to table-rappings as being the result of the snapping of toe-joints; and conventionalism, the pulpit, and the sensational press heralded this dictum as expert scientific opinion on the non-reality of phenomena about the verity of which the scientists had practically no knowledge. Prof. Tyndall furnished other illustrations where a scientist disregarded the fundamental principle of modern critical methods, and ventured into print as opposing the reality of phenomena which he had never investigated in such a way as would render him competent to express an opinion. Dr. Wallace sought here, as he did with Prof. Huxley and Dr. Carpenter, to enable these scientists to pursue the critical method. He was not only convinced that, by having a thorough or truly scientific investigation, they would be equipped for rendering an intelligent conclusion, worthy of a student of science, but he was also persuaded that they would soon observe facts which would lead them to alter their opinions. In this hope, however, the great naturalist was disappointed. He says:

"I invited Dr. Carpenter to attend some sittings, with every probability of being able to show the phenomena. He came once. The sitting was not very successful, raps and taps of varying character being alone produced. Although strongly pressed to do so, he never came again. With Prof. Tyndall exactly the same thing occurred. He came once, and declined to come again, although informed of phenomena which had repeatedly occurred in my own house which he could not explain, and which I had every reason to believe would occur in his presence if he would only give three or four short sittings to these investigations."\*

Now, what would Professors Huxley and Tyndall have said of anyone who attempted to explode the theory of evolution after spending a few hours on the subject, especially if the critic had refused to embrace opportunities to fully acquaint himself with the truths involved? What would they have said as to the relative values of the opinions of such uninformed persons, compared with the conclusions of Darwin

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\* Appendix to "A Defence of Modern Spiritualism."

and Dr. Wallace, who had spent many years in carefully experimenting, and in verifying the truth of their propositions? And yet we find these gentlemen pretending to explain away supernormal phenomena about which they were not only comparatively ignorant, but which they refused to investigate in the manner which all persons should follow before attempting to question the conclusions of physical science. Not only this, but they also opposed their views, based on practically no experimental knowledge, and strongly biased by preconceived ideas and deep-rooted prejudice, against the quarter-of-a-century investigations of such world-famed scientists as Dr. Wallace, Sir William Crookes, and Camille Flammarion. With possibly one exception, I have yet to hear of any scientist or careful and critical investigator who has given, in patient and honest investigation of this subject, anything like the time he would give to any other great problem in which new truths were to be verified or disproved, who has not been forced through his research to the acceptance of the truth of these phenomena.

This, of course, is not saying that competent investigators of psychical phenomena accept any special theory put forth to explain the manifestations. On the contrary, they entertain many views and theories to account for them. For example: (1) Some, as for instance Dr. Wallace and Sir William Crookes, have been led to the positive conclusion of the truth of the central claim of modern spiritualism. (2) The attitude of many is substantially that of the Rev. M. J. Savage, who, after eighteen years of careful investigation and wide reading of all literature bearing on the subject, expresses his opinion in favor of the spiritualistic hypothesis, with this qualification: "I hesitate as yet to say there can be no other explanation, but I frankly admit that I can now see no other which seems to me adequate to account for all the facts."\* (3) Still others hold to the theory advanced by certain philosophers of the Orient, which attributes the phenomena either to elementary beings or an order of beings other than the spirits of the dead, or to an extension of the psychic or mind power potentially present in each one. (4) Others, as Dr.

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\* "Psychics: Facts and Theories."

Carpenter, hold to the theory of unconscious cerebration, or believe that the solution is found in the theory of dual or multiple personalities. While some hold to other more or less well-digested theories which have been advanced as explanations of the phenomena.

It matters not, however, what the explanation is, as our present inquiry concerns the fundamental proposition that these supernormal phenomena do occur, apart from fraud, deception, or trickery. So far as I have known or heard, I repeat that, with one possible exception, all thoughtful and scientific investigators who have desired the truth earnestly enough to patiently and determinedly seek it in this field as they are expected to do in other realms of research have been forced to the conclusion that, apart from fraud and deception and from the perplexities and disappointments which all investigators meet in their search for new truths and wider knowledge, there is here a vast continent of truth which calls for further investigation. Dr. Wallace, who has, perhaps, caused more leading and thoughtful men to seriously look into psychic problems than any other living thinker, is probably more competent than anyone else to speak intelligently on this point. He says:

"I feel myself so confident of the truth and objective reality of many of the facts here narrated that I would stake the whole question on the opinion of any man of science desirous of arriving at the truth, if he only would devote two or three hours a week for a few months to an examination of the phenomena, before pronouncing an opinion, for I again repeat, not a single individual that I have heard of has done this without becoming convinced of the truth of these phenomena."\*

Another thing pointed out by Dr. Wallace is very important in this connection, that is, the longer earnest men and women investigate these supernormal phenomena in a scientific manner, the more profoundly do they become convinced that the alleged phenomena do take place under certain conditions in a manner such as to preclude all possibility of fraud

\* Chapter on "Scientific Aspects of Spiritualism," in "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," p. 125.

on the part of the psychic or hallucination on the part of the investigator. In illustration of this fact Dr. Wallace cites a circumstance connected with the investigations of the London Dialectical Committee. This body consisted of thirty well-known men, whose qualifications and positions were such as to command the respect of all thoughtful people; of these only eight, or less than one-fourth the number, entertained the slightest belief that the alleged phenomena were produced by any other means than by fraud and imposition. Several members were hostile or at least so indifferent as to give little time to the subject, seldom attending the séances. Yet during the investigations twelve of the complete skeptics became convinced of the genuineness of the phenomena. After narrating these facts, the veteran scientist observes—and this is the fact I wish to emphasize:

"My own observation as a member of the committee and of the largest and most active sub-committee enables me to state that the degree of conviction produced in the minds of various members was, allowing for marked differences of character, approximately proportionate to the amount of time and care bestowed on the investigation. This fact, which is what occurred in all investigations into these phenomena, is a characteristic result of the examination of any natural phenomena. The examination into an imposture or delusion has invariably exactly opposite results; those who have slender experience being deceived, while those who perseveringly continue the inquiry inevitably find out the source of the deception or delusion. If this were not so, the discovery of truth and the detection of error would alike be impossible."\*

These statements of Dr. Wallace's will be borne out, I believe, by every thinker who has for years investigated psychical phenomena. When, more than sixteen years ago, I began my investigations into this subject, I entered upon the work believing that the alleged phenomena were entirely the work of fraud, imposition, or self-delusion. My early experiences all tended to confirm this opinion, yet I determined to persevere until my experience would warrant my speaking intelligently as to, and explaining conclusively, the methods

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\*"Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," p. 185.

by which the frauds were perpetrated. At length, however, I encountered phenomena that were of no doubtful character; phenomena which were not produced in the dark or under circumstances which made fraud possible, and which also bore such internal evidence of genuineness that I was compelled to revise my opinion. I pursued my investigation with renewed zeal, and, I believed, with double watchfulness, because before I had investigated these problems I had myself come to the conclusion, with others, that the almost inexplicable fact, that many of the world's most illustrious thinkers believed in the genuineness of psychical phenomena, must be due to their having encountered some apparently remarkable happenings which had carried the conviction of genuineness to their minds, after which they had been less watchful for fraud. The longer I investigated, however, the more the conviction was forced upon me that a large proportion of these phenomena were due to supernormal influences, and were not the result of imposture or deception.

For more than sixteen years I have pursued these investigations as opportunity offered, while acquainting myself as thoroughly as I was able with all literature bearing on the subject, especially that which assailed the genuineness of the phenomena, and I have at no time been more profoundly convinced of the genuineness of a large proportion of the alleged psychical phenomena than I am to-day. This, of course, by no means implies that I have not encountered fraud and deception. Doubtless all who have long investigated this problem, especially where their investigations have been largely with psychics who depended on their alleged power for a livelihood, will frankly admit that they have encountered a large amount of what to them appeared to be and doubtless was more or less clumsy fraud; while a still larger proportion of their investigations have been of no evidential value because they were not under test conditions or took place where the results might have been due to mechanical devices or to confederates. There is no desire on the part of scientific investigators of psychical phenomena to deny the existence of fraud, or to condone, excuse, or in any way palliate the offence, but they hold with Victor Hugo, that the presence of

the false is no ground for rejecting the true; that it is unreasonable to reject the wheat because tares are present. They hold that it is unscientific and unphilosophical to hastily assume, when we encounter fraud, that *all* is fraud, especially when many of the world's greatest scientists, whose habits of thought and investigation have made their opinions of greater value than those of the general investigator, boldly affirm, after more than a quarter of a century of research, that these phenomena do take place in a supernormal manner.\*

In the course of my researches I have necessarily met a number of very intelligent and thoughtful investigators, and their experience, with one exception, has been uniformly in line with Dr. Wallace's observation touching the growth of conviction. It will be understood that I am speaking not of belief in any theory as to the cause of these phenomena, but merely of the fact that the hypotheses of fraud on the one hand and self-deception or illusion on the other are inadequate to explain many of the manifestations. It would be difficult to conceive of anything more absurd than the spectacle constantly presented of persons unknown in any field of scientific research, and without any extended experience in the critical examination of psychical manifestations, describing at length just how all these alleged phenomena are produced, and ridiculing the conclusions of many of the greatest scientific investigators of our age. Among these investigators have been men of world-wide reputation for careful and critical work in various fields of research, who have hard-earned reputations at stake, and who have not only investigated with a view to finding out whether the phenomena could be pro-

\* Recently a leading scientist has modestly suggested, in substance, that he believed scientific men were not so well qualified to judge psychical phenomena as others, because experiments and observations by them are always honest, and they never find it necessary to guard against fraud in nature. There might be some force in this observation if scientific men went into the investigation ignorant of the allegations of imposture and the popular cry of fraud connected with all these phenomena. This not being the case, however, the scientific man is doubly armed; he is forewarned, while he also brings into the research the habit of critical observation acquired after years of the most unremitting and exacting experiment and observation. He is nothing if not judicial and critical; and, as a rule, he has entered upon the investigation, if not prejudiced against the claim of supernormal manifestations by his preconceived views and by public report, at least as a complete skeptic, such as were Sir William Crookes and Dr. Wallace. It is evident, therefore, that no class of investigators are better qualified to detect fraud or deception; and though, owing to the materialistic bias so often acquired from popular theories of physical science, they may not be so sympathetic as other intelligent students, they are more judicial.

duced under the conditions in which they have observed them by the most clever tricks or any possible fraudulent methods known to them, but who have also investigated all theories which seek to explain these manifestations by means of imposture, and, with these supposed explanations in mind, have investigated patiently and tirelessly for years, some for more than a quarter of a century. In order to expose the unreasonableness of the position of the novices in psychical investigation who flippantly assume that they can explain all the manifestations by fraud or delusion, I wish to call attention to the character and qualifications of a few of the eminent men who, after long research, unhesitatingly declare that psychical phenomena are genuine; that they do take place under conditions which preclude all possibility of fraud or deception.

Alfred Russel Wallace, F. R. S., D. C. L., LL. D., who, next to Charles Darwin, has done more as a working naturalist to establish the theory of natural selection than any other investigator, who is to-day the most eminent living naturalist in England, and one of the most profound thinkers, careful reasoners, and critical observers, has spent thirty years in patient and exhaustive investigations of these phenomena. Like Sir William Crookes, he long since became thoroughly convinced of the truth of these phenomena. He has carefully examined the attempted explanations of all the more prominent writers who have endeavored to explain away or to give a narrow scope to the range of psychical phenomena, and has ably answered their arguments. It is often urged by persons unacquainted with the mental attitude of the great scientists who have become convinced of the genuineness of these manifestations, that their great desire for immortality has biased their judgment. Nothing could be farther from the truth, if we are to take the almost universal testimony of these investigators. Many of them have entered upon their investigations into the alleged phenomena for the avowed purpose of exposing their unreality, but, finding truth where they expected fraud, they have yielded to evidence from which there was no escape for an honest truth-seeker. Others have been pronounced skeptics, but have investigated simply because of a passion for knowledge and a desire to acquire all possible

truth. Dr. Wallace is an example of this class. In describing his mental attitude he says:

"For twenty-five years I had been an utter skeptic as to the existence of any preterhuman or superhuman intelligence, and I never for a moment contemplated the possibility that the marvels related by spiritualists could be literally true. If I have now changed my opinion, it is simply by the force of evidence. It is from no dread of annihilation that I have gone into this subject; it is from no inordinate longing for eternal existence that I have come to believe in facts which render this highly probable, if they do not actually prove it. At least three times during my travels I had to face death, imminent or probable within a few hours, and what I felt on those occasions was at most a gentle melancholy at the thought of quitting this wonderful and beautiful earth to enter on a sleep which might know no waking. In a state of ordinary health I did not feel even this. I came to the inquiry, therefore, utterly unbiased by hopes or fears, because I knew that my belief could not affect the reality, and with an ingrained prejudice against even such a word as spirit, which I have hardly yet overcome."\*

In Sir William Crookes, F. R. S., we have one of the foremost physicists of the world. His life has been given to careful experimentation and original research. Next to Herbert Spencer, Lord Kelvin, and Dr. Wallace, he is probably the best known among the great scientists of England who are still living. In 1870, or twenty-eight years ago, he began the investigation of psychical phenomena. His investigations were conducted with the greatest care and in a rigid and critical manner. After four years of exhaustive investigation he became so convinced of the truth that he published the results of his researches. Subsequent investigation and verification of phenomena have only confirmed his faith. Some years ago he republished an account of his more extensive investigations of earlier years, and on that occasion reasserted his conviction in the most positive way, declaring that he had not changed his views, and that, after a careful review of his former report, he could not find anything to retract or alter. Sir William

\* "Miracles and Modern Spiritualism," p. 132.

Crookes is at present President of the English Society for Psychical Research.

Camille Flammarion enjoys a world-wide reputation as one of the most eminent astronomers of our time. His investigations into psychic phenomena, as he has recently informed us, have extended over thirty years, and, without committing himself to any special theory to explain the phenomena, he unequivocally holds that the hypotheses of fraud and deception cannot explain some of the manifestations which he has personally witnessed.

Prof. Oliver J. Lodge, F. R. S., LL. D., professor of physics at Liverpool University College, after a long and careful series of experiments with Mrs. Piper, declared in 1890, "that there is more than can be explained by any amount of conscious or unconscious fraud; that the phenomenon is a genuine one, however it is to be explained."\* And in a public address delivered in St. James Hall, London, on March 29, 1897, Prof. Lodge thus summed up the result of his investigation:

"A conviction of the certainty of the future existence has to me personally been brought home on entirely scientific grounds, though in such form that I cannot as yet formulate them distinctly so as to convince others, but amply sufficient for my own life. As sure as I am that other persons exist at all, so sure am I that the decease of the body does not mean cessation of intelligence."

Among other English scientists who during comparatively recent years and after careful and painstaking investigation have affirmed their belief in the genuineness of psychical phenomena may be mentioned Prof. W. F. Barrett of the Royal College of Science, Dublin; the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F. R. S., a past president of the Royal Astronomical Society of England, and the late Prof. Balfour Stewart, F. R. S. But space forbids a more extended notice of eminent scientists who, through exhaustive and critical investigation, have come to believe in the reality of supernormal phenomena. It is evident, however, that during recent years a decided change has taken place in the attitude of men of science touching this field of research, especially in England and America.

\* "Proceedings of Society for Psychical Research," December, 1890.

Many factors have been working this change, not the least important of which has been the valuable work carried on by the English Society for Psychical Research and the American branch of the same society; the success of the latter being very largely due to the indefatigable work of Dr. Richard Hodgson, LL. D., ably seconded by the learned psychologist, Prof. William James, of Harvard University.

The English Society for Psychical Research was organized in 1882 for the scientific investigation of psychical phenomena. Slowly and with great care the working members have investigated various groups of phenomena, sifting, classifying, and examining in a truly judicial manner. They have given some time to the consideration of the various hypotheses offered to explain the manifestations, but have wisely confined most of their attention to the accumulation of authentic data. Among the members who in an official capacity have materially aided in this great and difficult task are Prof. Henry Sedgwick, Cambridge, England; Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, F. R. S.; Prof. W. F. Barrett, Royal College, Dublin; the Marquis of Bute; the Bishop of Ripon; the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, F. R. S., K. T.; Sir William Crookes, F. R. S.; Prof. Oliver J. Lodge, F. R. S.; Prof. Macalister, F. R. S., M. D.; Prof. W. Ramsay, F. R. S.; Lord Rayleigh, F. R. S.; Prof. J. J. Thompson, F. R. S.; Frederick W. H. Myers; Prof. William James, Harvard University; Dr. Richard Hodgson, LL. D.; J. Venn, F. R. S.; and G. P. Bidder, Q. C. The membership of the Society has grown very large and embraces numbers of the most eminent men of science the world over. The amount of data that has been carefully sifted and compiled forms one of the most valuable acquisitions to the scientific literature of the closing quarter of the nineteenth century. The work of this Society, however, is but one of several factors which are rapidly working a change in public opinion. Space forbids my noticing the others except to refer to the great service rendered the cause of psychical science by Mr. William T. Stead by the publication of *Borderland* and through giving some prominence to the subject in the English *Review of Reviews*. Mr. Stead, like Mrs. Sara A. Underwood, the late Prof. Stainton Moses, and

other prominent thinkers, came to take a special interest in these phenomena through experiencing automatic writing through their own hands, becoming instruments for messages which were written apart from any conscious volition of the brain. Rational investigation of psychical phenomena has now been carried to a point which insures for it an honest, scientific, and sympathetic hearing, and this is all that any truth asks.

It is the high and holy duty of man to seek the truth; and what highway of knowledge can be so alluring to the aspiring soul as that which holds the promise of broadening our apprehension of life and giving to man an affirmative answer to the soul's cry which has rung down the ages, "If a man die, shall he live again?"

## THE FARM HAND FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE FARMER.

BY GEORGE R. HENDERSON.

THE article in the November ARENA on the hard conditions of the farm hand, by Mr. Emory Kearns ("one of them"), will no doubt arouse some sympathy on the part of those who have no knowledge of the facts. It is a plea for political and social recognition; a protest against the alleged "disadvantages, the injustice, and the wrongs that enthral and bind down the wage-workers of the farming industry;" and a declaration that "we" (the farm hands) "do not need new laws so much as we need a change of the recognized principles and theories that underlie all law."

At the outset it should be understood that there are farm-hands and farm hands. A large proportion of them are men only differing from the tramp in that they will work sometimes; they are men of uncleanly habits, brutish instincts, who work with no intelligence or interest, and who are absolutely unreliable; men who in our large cities could find employment only in digging and shovelling under the supervision of a boss. Such men are employed by our best farmers during busy times, and then receive better wages and more consideration than they deserve. At other times they find homes with the poorer class of farmers, where they work (or pretend to work) for just what their employers can afford to pay them. The first-class hand, on the contrary, is generally found in the employ of a man of means and capacity. In fact he is so much in demand that he can select his employer, and he usually allies himself with one in a position to advance his interests. However, this latter kind of hand is such a *rara avis* that Mr. Kearns wholly leaves him out of consideration.

That the social position of this latter class of laborers is materially affected by their employment is not true. The country is proverbially democratic, and the respectable farm

hand occupies a higher social position than he could in a city as a factory operative or clerk. He is allowed a place at the farmer's table, and works side by side with the farmer and his boys. At the meeting house he is greeted kindly, and takes his seat with the landowners of the neighborhood. At social gatherings the fact that he is a farm hand, other things being equal, is not remembered against him. In a few years he will have saved some money and can rent or buy a farm of his own. In this I am not romancing; well-to-do farmers who started as above indicated are plentiful all over this country. Much of my life has been spent as a worker in cities, and I must confess to being surprised and impressed at this lack of social discrimination on the part of the people of the country. I have attended gatherings in which young women of marked culture and refinement, who generally figured in the society functions of the neighboring city, affiliated with perfect accord with plowboys whose only claim to consideration was the fact that they were decent and honest. I write, too, from south of the Mason and Dixon line!

The disadvantages and wrongs of which Mr. Kearns complains are long hours and hard work, little pay, and a lack of the blessings of civilization. A little examination will show that all these complaints are without foundation.

From the nature of his employment the farm hand cannot, as a rule, have fixed hours of work. For days and weeks in the spring, planting will be delayed by adverse conditions, and he, in common with his employer, will have to make up for this period of enforced idleness. During the summer, when hay is to be harvested and wheat thrashed, it may be necessary at times to work as long as one can see; but as an offset to these days of extra labor are the days of comparative ease in the fall and winter. Again, there is a tendency on the part of progressive farmers to shorten the working day, experience having demonstrated that a man and a team, working briskly eight or ten hours, will accomplish as much as was accomplished under the old system in fourteen or sixteen.

But are long hours an evil peculiar to the agricultural laborer? Most certainly not. When working for a railroad

company in a Northwestern city, I frequently had occasion to go to the office at night, and in passing through the wholesale district (no matter how late the hour) I noticed the gas lit and clerks bending over their books far into the night. It was their busy season. I have known railroad clerks in the same building with myself who never claimed a day for their own. Sundays and holidays found them at their desks, and long into the night they toiled at work that unstrung every nerve and made the head ache. They had a job to "hold down," and they knew that if they failed another man of quicker brain would take their place. The farm hand, however, has the prerogative of resting when he is tired, and it is a prerogative he never fails to exercise. On this subject I am qualified to speak by reason of my double experience as an office man and as a farmer, and I am convinced that the average landowner works less than the professional man, and the farm hand (taking the whole year into consideration) less than the factory operative or the clerk.

Now, on the question of pay, fifteen or twenty dollars a month is not, apparently, a very liberal compensation; but in addition to this the farm hand gets his board and lodging, and this fact puts him financially ahead of the laborer or average clerk in a city. The latter, with thirty-five or forty dollars a month, after paying twenty-five for board and lodgings, dressing himself as he is compelled to, and meeting the thousand and one incidental demands upon the purse of one living in a city, finds it impossible to save a cent. The factory operative at fifty dollars, with a family to support, is in the same predicament; while the farm hand, with twenty dollars a month, can, without any material deprivation, save one hundred and twenty dollars a year. If he should marry a competent and faithful woman, he will have no difficulty in finding farmers of means who will build him a cottage, give him land for a garden, and, in addition, pay himself and wife for their services.

Every condition in life has its objections, and that the farm hand, in common with his employer, loses some of the blessings of civilization incident to an urban environment, I will not deny. But exactly what blessings Mr. Kearns

refers to as the peculiar deprivation of the farm hand, is hard to determine. It is true, he sees little of the theatre, the dance and music hall, and he is not in a position to "rush the growler," a pastime to which his city counterpart is much given. But the kind of farm hand I am referring to does not regard the lack of these things as a serious deprivation. He knows that the law accords to him the same protection it does to another man; that churches and schools are open to himself and children, and that with a very little outlay he can provide himself with the best thought of the present and the past. As for mere creature comforts, we know of no respectable and self-respecting farm hand who is not in that respect on a par with the family he serves. To claim (as Mr. Kearns does) that he is at a disadvantage as compared with the laborer in a cheap boarding-house in a city is absurd. That the farm hand is a helpless dependent upon the will of the landowner is not true, the converse being nearer a fact. With work that must be done, the farmer is, at given times, compelled to pay wages in excess of the probable value of the man's labor. It is a significant fact that, during the panic from which we are still suffering, when the value of commodities raised on the farm fell below the cost of production, and when landowners were being bankrupt all over this land, *the farm hand's wages remained the same*. While strikes and lockouts were the order of the day in all business centres, and skilled labor pleaded with outstretched hands for work to fill the hungry mouths of crying children, the farm hand, no matter how incompetent, *could always find a home*.

The rush of our population to the large cities is one of the inexplicable phenomena of the age. To-day a condition of alarming congestion exists, so that when a street-car company advertises a few vacancies, a great army of stalwart young men line up, two hundred strong, for every place to be filled. This is an actual instance, and illustrates a condition; while, at the same time, there exists throughout this land an unsatisfied demand for competent and faithful men to assist in the management and work of our farms. The truth is that the farm hand has had no appreciation of the dignity

and possibilities of his calling. He imagines that when he can hitch up a team (which very few can do properly), hold a plow to the furrows, and shovel corn to a bunch of cattle, he has reached the acme of proficiency. With too many farmers this is also a fault. The fact that there is anything to learn outside the limits of their experience never occurs to them. There is a prevalent opinion that the operations of farming are so simple and elementary that any fool can successfully conduct them. Color was given to this opinion by the generous returns that our new lands yielded, in the not distant past, to the crudest methods. But conditions have changed, and the farmer that succeeds to-day must be a man of business and a man of science. If a young man expects to make law or engineering a life work, he prepares himself by years of study; but few consider study as necessary to fit them for the profession of agriculture. What the country needs are farm hands who have an ambition to succeed, and who to that end are *studying agriculture as a profession*, who appreciate the fact that they are dealing with nature and must have some knowledge of her laws, and who, above all things, are faithful and honest. Such men, I assert with perfect conviction, would have a better chance of getting on in the world, starting as farm hands, than they would as factory operatives or clerks in our cities.

No, it is not necessary (as Mr. Kearns asserts), in order to right the alleged wrongs of the farm hand, to change "the recognized principles and theories that underlie all law;" but, in my opinion, the same result can be accomplished by *a radical change in the farm hand himself*.

Columbia, Mo.

## HOBSON OF ALABAMA.

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BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

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This Hobson of ours! God bless the man  
For the daringest young American  
That ever was seen on sea or land!  
(The Admiral has a job on hand,  
To scuttle a ship or loaded boat  
In Santiago de Cuba's throat;  
And this will demand a dozen men,  
Or it may be six or it may be ten,  
Seeking no prizes and knowing no fear.)  
"Now who," said our Sampson, "will volunteer?"  
And more than a hundred, ready to die,  
Spring eagerly forward, shouting "I."—

This Hobson of Alabama.

Naval constructor? Now who is he?  
Never heard of the youth before!  
Under-lieutenant? (The man, I see,  
Isn't twenty-eight by a month and more.)  
But his lips are set, and the Admiral saw  
No quiver about the under jaw  
Of Hobson of Alabama.

"Take that old sea-tramp, the Merrimac,  
And sink her deep in Cervera's track,  
Crosswise in the channel—wish you well—  
It's a red-hot job—look out for hell,"  
The Admiral said. And the seven men stood,  
Their young necks red with American blood,

By Hobson of Alabama.

The old tramp heaved with her heavy load,  
But Hobson prodded her hard with his goad,  
And on she went, and the Spanish guns  
Began to vomit their shells by tons,  
And the storm came down, and hell broke loose,  
On the back of the poor old ocean goose,  
As she went to the spot and turned her side  
To the bellowing batteries ere she died!  
"To the boat, boys, quick, while I let her go—  
And wait for me at the port below,"  
Said Hobson of Alabama.

Then all of a sudden the big torpedo  
Rocked ocean and land from Key West to Toledo!  
The black ship rose in her agony  
And plunged headforemost into the sea!  
And Hobson? Well, he with his men afloat  
Put off with a shout in his daredevil boat,  
And shook out a flag and signalled afar  
To Cervera to take him, by rule of war!  
And the Admiral could but hear and heed  
The call, as he witnessed the matchless deed  
Of Hobson of Alabama.

Hurrah for Hobson! Hurrah for his band—  
Each fellow who took his life in his hand—  
And volunteered to sink the ship,  
And did it, and then gave Death the slip!  
The Republic lives! The stern old day  
Of heroic valor has come our way!  
Hurrah for the sailors and soldiers too,  
Who follow the flag with its field of blue,  
With its stripes unstained and its quenchless stars  
Outliving ten thousand rents and scars!  
And when our children in far-off days  
Are falling away from their fathers' ways,  
And the sun of freedom seems like to set,  
Revive their courage, and don't forget  
Brave Hobson of Alabama.

## DREAMLAND IN FICTION.

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BY FRANK FOSTER.

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DID we but know it, we probably come into contact every day with hints, in themselves sufficiently forcible, that the education of the world is quite one-sided, and that the "long result of time" is just as imperfect as the half of anything must be without its accompanying other half. So far have we run mad with science to the neglect of anything that cannot be estimated by ounces, inches, pints, acres, revolutions, or volts that we are at present incapable of forming any conception of certain of the attributes of things unseen, and when they do occassionally insist upon our notice we experience discomfort, more or less acute according to temperament, but seldom of the profitable kind. And, indeed, by dint of insolence and the rooting up of precious plants that ample space may be accorded to the growth of weeds, we should, perhaps, by this time have comfortably settled down to a belief in the non-existence of everything impalpable but for the mysterious panorama, wholly at variance with our starched and ironed complacency, called dreams. Since the days of Pharaoh the only definite conclusion we have arrived at respecting them is that they cannot be implicitly trusted as auguries of the future. Public opinion, finding its early faith in their absolute veracity misplaced, naturally sought the other extreme and formulated a proverb that "dreams go by contraries." Since then it has swung at least halfway back again and its position is now strictly non-committal.

It is owing to this lamentable, culpable ignorance that those who play with fancy, and wind it into ingenious knots and tangles for our pleasure, in most cases so fatally err when they take for material the "jumbled rubbish of a dream." Generally they seem to regard the dream as an allegorical criticism on the events of yesterday or an allegorical foreshadowing of the transactions of to-morrow. Eugene Sue,

indeed, goes further and in "The Mysteries of Paris" gives us a specimen compounded of both sorts, striving conscientiously to be horrible, but running dangerously close to the ridiculous. The dream of Montague Tigg in "Martin Chuzzlewit" is far better.\* Screws that he would fasten the door with against his murderer turning into writhing worms has the true dream touch of an apprehensive mind about it. Yet less of it would have been of more value; it is a little too circumstantial; in short, it is no true dream, being strangled with a few turns of overelaboration. It may be claimed that it illustrates the point better on that account, like the calcium light thrown on the stage hero, which is not supposed to come from anywhere in particular, and is equally available in a drawing-room or a desert.

On a higher plane is the beautiful sleepwalking scene in "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," which, though not introduced as a dream, belongs, and more legitimately, to this order of things, that is, an effort to convey a truth with deeper intensity than the unaided art of a mere story-teller can compass. Mr. Hardy has avoided the ordinary and easy channel of the supernatural, with the loss perhaps of a few degrees of probability, though it will appear to any but a critic of the wooden school that his gain is far greater. Viewed as a coherent part of the story it is improbable, unreal, even fantastic. Yet it depicts in the highest and most vivid manner possible the strong, scarce-repressed love of Angel Clare for his wife. On the other hand, the dream of Stephen Smith in "A Pair of Blue Eyes" is one of the most natural dreams in all fiction. Witness the confusing of the dead with the living, the known with the unknown, and the very dreamer himself with someone else. It is handled with a sure touch, and an instance of higher excellence it would be hard to find anywhere.

Many of these literary piccadilloes are no doubt induced by the popular notion that dreams are merely our sleeping thoughts and nothing more, a theory tenable only on the ground that such thoughts lie under a spell entirely alien from any of our experiences in this world of waking. No matter how realistic our dreams are, we never, even after the lapse of time, mistake them for anything else. There is an

ingredient in them that is all their own, peculiar to them, and to them only, which defies analysis and, except in very rare instances, imitation. In their very vividness our dream sensations will often stamp themselves more definitely as having been experienced during sleep ; they are actually clearer on that account. In the dream, pure and simple, unbiassed by any distinct physical sensation or by any mental condition perceptibly continued into the sleeping from the waking hours, we have a phenomenon which all modern influences tend to prevent us understanding, but which, rightly inquired into, might have granted a true and lasting reward.

It is not among the minor signs of Mr. Kipling's genius that, dealing extensively as he does with the weird and the unexplained, and ranging therein from the ludicrous to the loathsome, he has recognized this universal shortcoming and has been very seldom tempted into dreamland. In "*The Light that Failed*" Dick's ghastly and brilliant vision at the instant of his becoming blind is artistically successful and makes no demand upon credulity ; being produced entirely by physical pain it was merely a reality intensified by the supersensitive state of the intellect during sleep. That even moderate sensations are thus greatly exaggerated has been proved by the ingenious M. Alfred Maury, who, with the assistance of a friend tickling his lips, succeeded in dreaming that he was being subjected to the curious torture of having pitch plasters applied to his face and torn off. So we see that Kipling in this case was strictly within the bounds of science. And the reserve of a mind such as his upon the subject brings home to us, as forcibly as anything can, what might have been but for our carefully acquired ignorance ; what heights the human spirit might have scaled had we considered it worth while to cultivate what was evidently designed to be one of its most important conditions. For it is significant that he abstains from the land of dreams solely through diffidence. No one who has read "*At the End of the Passage*" can doubt that he considers the subject one of intense interest, though recognizing that our warped faculties cannot entertain it. He will not drive dreams four in hand, as some authors do, though no man living could produce a

greater effect by doing so. But he knows that the reading of visions is not by direct translation, and, seeing that the means of understanding them do not belong to this neglectful age, he rightly refrains from meddling with what would either lead him into uncertain ways or bind him to the service of a false if beautiful idealism.

It is true that some excellent artistic effects have been produced by the false conceptions alluded to. But now that fiction has ceased to be entirely romantic and dramatic, and has become more analytical and realistic, we perceive that, though what is true and obsolete may be modified into use, the false and obsolete must be cast aside. Writers who through dread of ridicule will not venture to introduce the subjective ghost cannot go on much longer touching up the high lights in their foregrounds with ingenious and gracefully correct parables in the form of dreams. The analytical novelist has no right to anything so romantic, for his creations "fight by the book of arithmetic," and, alas! make love in the same fashion; while there are signs of even the old-style writer having ridden his nightmare to a standstill. And, indeed, his mount was generally a sorry nag at best.

David Copperfield dreamt that he was in Mr. Spenlow's office in his nightgown and boots, and that his employer remonstrated with him for appearing in so airy an attire. Now, although nearly everyone has found himself in the land of Nod in exceedingly scanty garb, or perhaps even like the immortal Mulvaney, not having on sufficient clothes to "dust a fife," it is a curious but universal fact that none of our dream-companions seem to notice the circumstance, at least not to the extent of remonstrance. *They* are always properly dressed, while we shiver, and, like the estimable gentlemen quoted above, "blush pink;" but they heed it not. Perhaps we control their dream existence as the Red King did in the case of Alice, and so their delicacy arises from an interested motive. They fear to give offence lest we should retaliate by waking, whereupon, as Tweedledum explained to Alice, they would "go out—bang—just like a candle." Whether this hypothesis is correct or not, they never seem to draw us aside with "Excuse me, sir, but"—

Of course it is reasonable to suppose they would, but this is applying waking logic to dream premises.

It is presumably not through want of ability, but rather consequent upon a certain slovenliness, that Dickens, especially, fails in this particular. He seems to feel that he is outside the province of criticism, that none may say him nay. Here at least no one can complain of a want of realism, for is not everything unreal? or to object to caricature, since sleep is but a distorted form of waking life. In this manner we have, for instance, the dream of Walter Bray, in "Nicholas Nickleby," of his sinking through the floor for an immeasurable distance and alighting in a tomb on the night before he died. The episode is quite unimpressive, giving the idea of its having been regarded by its author as something unworthy of care or thought in the doing.

It is characteristic of Miss Brontë's exact intellect, always dominant over her beautiful and vivid imagination, that she seems to have instinctively avoided such errors as these, even while apparently falling into their outward semblance. Just before the great catastrophe, Jane Eyre has a dream of the prophetic type which is thoroughly impregnated with the true essence. That most woeful and haunting sensation of having something of which we cannot rid ourselves, something that our soul loathes and sickens over yet that we cannot part with, is known to every dreamer. The infant that Jane bears in her arms is, we feel, a symbol of evil to come, so that the air is heavy with foreboding, until disastrous certainty arrives almost as a relief. In fact, true prophetic sensation is not uncommon in dreams; the error of the fiction dream consists in consolidating that sensation into facts or actions.

There is one author, Mr. George Macdonald, who really possesses a wide and deeply sympathetic acquaintance with the sphere of visions, though his love of the supernatural in general impels him to deal largely with fairy tales, legends of the more intangible and sublime order, and weird episodes of second sight. His power in this direction is really remarkable and in one phase of it positively unique. It has been given to many writers to produce an actual creeping of the

flesh and a dryness in the throat. But George Macdonald can distinctly awaken in an appreciative reader the curious, blind, panic terror of childhood, such as in our tender years we experienced occasionally when finding ourselves alone in the dark, or lost, or, above all, when confronted by some fearsome object which we did not understand. He alone seems able to call up this long-forgotten sensation; and it may be (who shall say?) that this singular attribute is possibly evidence of the missing faculty, the one gift that nearly all other writers of fiction entirely lack. Unfortunately we cannot pronounce with any degree of certainty simply for want of sufficient evidence. When not revelling in the deliciously weird, and thrilling us with genuine shudders, as in "*Phantastes*" or "*The Portent*," Macdonald is studying humanity under most prosaic conditions, as in "*Guild Court*." Some of his work, "*David Elginbrod*" for instance, is flavored here and there with such quasi-supernatural influences as mesmerism, which have no bearing upon our subject. But it is with regret that we are forced to conclude that he has not seriously turned his attention to the dream life as we know it.

Meanwhile the error remains, and the spectacle of the human race seeking with tireless ingenuity for fresh fields of romance is indeed a curious one. Of necessity much that was once romance is no longer possible as such; it has been dissipated by modern discovery or worn smooth by constant use. But that the only unfailing source of what is delightful and bizarre, yet in its very nature appealing to all indiscriminately, should have been neglected to death or so insolently and feebly misused is, we repeat, a curious spectacle indeed.

## THE RECONQUEST OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

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BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

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**M**Y COUNTRYMEN: You once had a national House of Representatives. You still have at the capital of the nation a body of men designated by that name. The reason why it is so called is traditional. When the Constitution of the United States was prepared it was provided that there should be a Congress consisting of an upper house and a lower house. The upper house should be the Senate; the lower house should be the House of Representatives. The name thus given to the body last mentioned became current, and to this day we still speak of the House of Representatives as though it were a fact as well as a reminiscence. History, like a great river, carries on its surface many such reminders of the past. It is sometimes interesting and useful to rescue a piece of this flotsam of bygone times and to examine it with curious attention.

That the people of the United States once had a House of Representatives is true. Not only was such a body provided for in the Constitution, but it was actually created more than a century ago, and all who are acquainted with the history of our country know that our national Commons answered fully for a while to the expectations of the fathers. The people assembling at their biennial elections chose their leading men to represent them in the House; and the men so chosen did represent the people and did justify the framers of the Constitution in creating a people's branch, as well as a State branch, in the national legislature.

The great men of the old Thirteen States were proud to be elected Representatives, and they sat in the House term after term deliberating in a manner that would have reflected honor on the Areopagus of the Greeks or the Senate of Old Rome. It is literally true that our House of Representatives in the early days of the Republic was an honorable

and powerful body, the pride and bulwark of the nation. Aye, more; the light and warmth of this arena of patriotism, wisdom, and eloquence streamed across the sea and penetrated all lands as far as the Highlander's castle, the Switzer's hut above the glacier, and the Albanian's humble home at the foot of Olympus.

With what inspiration the American of to-day, still reminiscent of the glories of the past, recalls the long list of patriots and heroes whose voices have been heard as representatives of the people in the lower house of Congress. There in the early days sat many of the immortals who had signed our Declaration of Independence. There gathered the leaders of the undying democracy that had won our independence and given us our priceless heritage of liberty. Members of the old Continental Congress were elected by the people in several of the States to speak for them in the new House of Representatives. There sat future Senators and diplomatists and Presidents. There the young statesman beheld around him on his entrance into public life an assemblage and a scene that might well inspire him with the loftiest sentiments of devotion and patriotic desire. There, in the early part of the century, rose the matchless figure of Henry Clay. There in his thirty-second year came the titanic Webster to begin his career of glory. There John Quincy Adams, after his term of service in the presidential office, returned to champion the people's cause, to defend the right of petition, to win the sobriquet of the Old Man Eloquent, and to die, as he had lived, in the very act of service to his country and to mankind.

There too the democracy of another type had its champions and defenders. There sat the great Calhoun. There rose Prentiss and Marshall and Crittenden and Breckenridge. Into that arena at a later period came the rising men out of the young and resolute West. There stood Douglas and Lovejoy; Lincoln was once there, as Jackson had been before him. There came scores of the great precursors of our Union War. There sat Giddings and Stevens and Stephens. There were seen the giants in combat. There were the men who attacked the existing order; and there were the

equally stalwart men who defended it. There scholars, even after the Civil War, were not infrequent—men who knew something of the history of nations; men who could interpret other languages and speak their own; men who knew the difference between right and wrong; men who had their hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and their bodies washed with pure water.

In that great arena Colfax presided for six years. There in the aisle before him stood Fernando Wood. There Benjamin Butler and Sunset Cox had their memorable passados of immortal sarcasm. There Pig-Iron Kelley contended to the last; and there Proctor Knott described the concentric circles around Duluth. There Voorhees waxed eloquent and wrathful in the cause of his country. There Watterson's voice was heard, when the voice was still the voice of democracy. There James G. Blaine and Roscoe Conkling drew their swords in a joust to the uttermost. There Garfield for eighteen years sat and debated; and there Carlisle thundered the truth before he betrayed his country. There, as late as the eighties, Bryan and Towne made the land ring with their patriotic outcry against the aggressions of the money power.

What have we now? What does the beholder from the gallery look down upon in that vast arena? A body composed for the most part of the commonplaces of politics. The largest single group are town lawyers of local reputation, no practice, and no sympathy with the American people. Only a minority, a small minority, are men who would ever have been cast up except for the pitiful exigencies of district conventions.

It is lamentable to contemplate the extent to which the average Congressman has declined from the standard of his predecessors. Certainly there is still conspicuous ability, as there is conspicuous patriotism in the House of Representatives. But the ability is limited to leadership and to scattered remains and relics of the old representative glory. For the rest the House has totally lost its representative character, and has become a scene for the display of the basest political despotism that has ever been witnessed among

the legislative bodies of civilized nations. Our national representative body has fallen away year by year from the character and influence which it exerted for fully three-quarters of a century, and has become an object of distrust and indifference, if not of actual contempt, to thoughtful American citizens.

No one shall truthfully declare that this severe delineation of the estate into which the House of Representatives has fallen is overdrawn or not well grounded in the truth. It is not overdrawn, and it is well grounded in truth. Our national condition is notorious, not only to ourselves, but to all the world. Moreover, the strictures here set forth are made not in anger, but in sorrow and humiliation. Certainly these censures are not made in malice or in a mean spirit of jubilation over a national shame. Would it were otherwise than true that we have no longer a great legislature representative of the people. But it is true that we have not, and even the goldite oligarchy knows it to be true.

Ever and anon one of the Machiavellian organs of this oligarchy, in some rare unguarded moment of hilarious common sense, breaks out with a great gush of truth and tells us such wholesome and humorous things as take our breath away. I will cite a single example of this unconscious delivery of veracity. Though we do not often have the space or the misplaced generosity to send into the upper circles of intelligence what a plutocratic newspaper may say, the following editorial from the Boston *Herald*, of May 17, 1898, is such a rare and killing example of how a goldbug organ may give itself away that we reproduce the extract—not only for the truth which it contains but for the subdued and immeasurable humor of it. The *Herald* says:

“ It is not an extreme statement to say that the Senate is the only deliberative body of our Congress now. The House is not deliberative in the sense that public measures are discussed there in the way that the voice of the people’s representatives are heard and their influence felt on terms of equality in the consideration of public measures. The chances are that in electing a member to that body a congressional district elects a cipher. The shaping of legisla-

tion rests with a very few members of the House, and frequently with not more than one member. Measures pass as it has been decreed in a small circle that they shall pass. The right to protest against their passage in debate, even, is limited. It is always understood in advance, not only what form they shall take, but how much shall be allowed to be said with regard to them. The amount of this has become more and more restricted. The right even to propose amendments is very much denied. Individuality in the people's representatives is crushed out. Even if they are allowed the poor privilege of speaking, what they say has come to be regarded as academic or perfunctory. They know that their arguments cannot possibly have effect, and all heart to engage in discussion is taken out of them. As well attempt to stop the moving of a piston of a steam engine by hand as to interfere with the operation of the great machine that the House of Representatives has become.

If legislation is to be shaped, therefore, in a manner in which the influence of representatives of the people shall be felt on anything like terms of equality, it must be done in the Senate. That body is the only body left that is representative of the people in the earlier sense, and in the sense in which the opinion of constituencies is felt in the nations of the world generally that have established representative governments."

*Et tu, Brute!* Now, who in the world could have imagined that so true and adequate a description of our Congressional condition as is the foregoing should emanate from a journal that constantly praises Thomas B. Reed and joyfully tells its readers how skilfully he "manages" the House of Representatives?

Once for all we may succinctly state the bottom cause of this lamentable decline in the body which should forever be the pride and fortress of American citizenship. The decline has come simply because subserviency to party has been substituted for patriotic service to the country. The logic of the situation has been reduced to this: Why should a man possess genius and patriotism and courage when the

only things needed are a base service of party, reënforced with impudence and lungs and money?

The House of Representatives has lost its power and become an instrument subversive of the very principles which it was created to perpetuate, for the reason that party has triumphed over nation. The discussion of this decadence involves our whole political history. It involves the growth and structure of political parties in the United States. It involves the question as to what parties are for, and what part they play in the drama of national existence. Do parties exist for themselves or for the nation? Are they founded on principle, or are they founded on the interests of the organizers and managers? Are they intended to preserve a wholesome public opinion by agitating questions of public concern, or are they intended to corrupt public opinion and to prevent the agitation of every question in which the people have a living interest?

In the United States the political party has run a shameful course. It may be that the allegation lies against all parties. I fear that they have all been more or less under the dominion of selfishness, and that they have all been more or less the factors in reducing the national House of Representatives to its present degraded level. But one party in particular has had the lion's share in corrupting public opinion in the United States and in debasing our institutions.

It would appear that in human history salutary things, even the best and greatest things, are the most subject to abuse and most liable to being converted into agents of destruction and crime. Let us agree that the Republican party in its incipiency, the party of 1856, beginning in the fields and villages of the old Free States, was a force essential to the welfare of American civilization. Let us agree that it was a wholesome association of strong and patriotic spirits determined to reform and regenerate our social and political life, or to perish in the attempt. Let us remember the five *F's* that the stern Republicans of 1856 put on the new banners which they shot up into the morning air. Those *F's* stood for Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Schools, Free Kansas, and Frémont.

From that to this how far! Suppose that Platt and Hanna and Quay were, in the year 1898, obliged to make speeches for Free Thought, Free Speech, and Free Men, what would be the result? They would fall down lifeless in their tracks. The utterance of such sentiments would confound their vitals, and leave them dead in the act. The law of contradiction sometimes works in this fatal way. Human nature can bear the play of the spiritual contradictions to only a limited degree. To compel the plutocratic bosses of this epoch to utter any of the sentiments which the founders of the Republican party proclaimed forty-two years ago would suffice to kill them on the spot — this on the same principle that brigands are unhappy at a charity fair, and that pirates die at a prayer meeting.

It is, however, very far from my purpose to assail the House of Representatives or to criticize that body on the score of personal characteristics and individual averages. Perhaps our whole citizenship in the United States has fallen below the elevated and patriotic standards which were fixed for us by the fathers. Certainly this is true in the great cities which have become so strongly preponderant in our national affairs. It may be true that the congressional average has not relatively declined, but rather that all we, like Polonius and the crab, have gone backwards. What I desire, therefore, to emphasize is the decadence of the House of Representatives *considered as an organic force in our national life*, to note the cause of it, and to urge upon the people the necessity of a speedy reconquest of their great legislative body.

It is in its organic structure, then, that the House of Representatives has fallen away. The manner in which the House is constituted, the regulations which have been adopted for its government and for the conduct of its business, and in particular the concentration of its functions in the hands of the presiding officer have been the fundamental reasons for the falling away and virtual collapse of the House as a representative body. These deteriorating forces have crept in from the outside political domain. They have become predominant because of the exigencies of party manage-

ment and because of the substitution of party success for the welfare of the nation. Gradually this vice has come into our American system. Our frequent elections and the constant broil and competition for office have suggested to the political parties the construction of a system for keeping themselves in power, and this motive has gradually prevailed until all other motives are extinguished.

The House of Representatives has been peculiarly sensitive to this degrading force in political society. The consequence is that out in the open field men are selected for the congressional function, not on account of their ability, not on account of their reputation and courage, but for exactly the opposite reasons. Candidates are chosen by the party conventions for the reason that the men thus selected will be subservient to the behest of party and will recognize obedience to the party mandate as the first and almost the only duty of a representative.

Of course this vice is not universal. Here and there the old principle of public usefulness still prevails to the extent of putting men forward on other than party grounds, and electing them because of their character, their experience, and their high abilities. These two forces pull apart. One force urges in one direction, and the other force in the other direction ; and it is for this reason that we have in the House of Representatives at the present time a few men who hold control and dominate all the rest, and why outside of these few we have a mass of nothings who obey partisan dictation and do what their party leaders tell them to do as subserviently as if they were mere tools in the hands of their masters.

This condition of affairs has given the opportunity for organizing the House of Representatives in the present despotic and absurd manner. It was found necessary to put power into the hands of one man, representative, or rather master, of the majority, and to take away all rights and all privileges which should belong to representatives, not only from the minority, but also from the great mass of the majority. This necessity arose from the fact that legislation was constantly conducted for party advantage. This being true, the minority sought not only by legitimate but by illegitimate means

to prevent action. This led the majority to abuse its power; and, as a method for making the business as easy and complete as possible, the functions of the House were gathered up and put into the hands of one man with the avowed purpose of making him a despot over the representatives of the people, and, if over them, then over the people themselves.

The new system, having in view the construction of this despotism, gave first to the Speaker his proper, legitimate functions as presiding officer. Then it conceded to him the right of constituting the committees. This implied that he would make the chairmen of the committees to be his own men, as servile and pliant to him as the under members of the several committees should be servile and pliant in the hands of the chairmen. It implied also that no proposed legislation should ever reach the stage of public discussion unless such legislation should agree with the purpose and plan of the despot. It implied a total suppression of the minority. It implied that the greatest statesman in the United States, if elected to the House of Representatives, should, if he be of the minority, be placed at the tail end of the committee on Indian Appropriations. It implied that every man courageous enough to represent the people by whom he might be elected should be stuck away in the convenient pigeonholes of the despot's private closet and kept there, while the arena of the House should be opened only for the activity of the despot's own puppets.

I need not, however, enlarge upon a condition which is now well understood by the American public. Everybody knows that the condition here described has actually come to pass. Everybody *may* know, with a little reflection, the reasons why such a condition has become dominant in the public life of the United States. Nor need we dwell at length upon the evil aspect of the stars under which a man was found at a certain juncture in our history exactly suited to impersonate and energize the evil conditions of the age. It came to pass that such a man was born. It came to pass that when thirty-seven years of age he was sent to the House of Representatives at the exact time when he was needed most as a destroying force working havoc with the institutions

of his country. Possessing talents which, coupled with lack of scruple and a disregard for the interests of his countrymen, amounted to a kind of malign genius, he entered upon his work. He rose to leadership—borne on to prominence by the very conditions which we have described as prevalent in the outside political realm. He gladly accepted the evil work which destiny had assigned to him. He became Speaker of the House of Representatives, and at length he became the House of Representatives itself.

This is the matter in a nutshell. It is the whole statement of the case. It is the naked truth. Thomas B. Reed, taking advantage of the conditions which political history has offered him, has become not only the presiding officer of the House, but the House itself. He is recognized as such. The goldite oligarchy gloats over him day by day. The newspapers which are the organs of that oligarchy proclaim him day by day. They openly admit that the national House has lost its character as a representative body; and they glory in it. They openly declare that the management of the House is in the hands of Reed. They shamelessly avow and glory in the depotism which has been established by this means over the American people. They tell us in advance of almost every issue how Speaker Reed managed or will manage the House. They have no hesitancy in stating before the fact the exact course which the arbitrary despot inhabited by the soul of a cynic will take, not to carry out the will of the people, but to thwart their will and to bring it to nought. I can easily cite enough of editorial quotations from current goldite newspapers of high repute, indicating in advance how Reed will suppress the House and compel it to do his bidding—enough of such extracts to fill one number of *THE ARENA* full.

This matter, this prostitution of office, has become a national shame. It is an outrage. It is an insult to honorable history. It is an open scandal flaunted in the face of mankind. It is an ignominy done in particular to the American people. They are victimized. They are defrauded of their purpose. They are swindled out of their rights to be heard through their representatives, and to be governed by legisla-

tion which their representatives shall prepare and approve. They are obliged to witness, day by day, the most shameless spectacle which, if I mistake not, has ever been seen in a great legislative hall. I do not recall any incident from the parliamentary annals of the English Revolution, including the episode of the Rump Commons, or from the French Revolution, including the National Convention, so utterly devoid of any element of respect, so utterly beneath the dignity of manhood and republican democracy, as is the daily scene in our House of Representatives under the administration of the American Tsar.

There he sits with a sardonic smile ; he lifts his gavel and recognizes "the Gentleman from Maine." The gentleman from Maine rises with the manner of a second-class schoolmaster and proceeds to execute his part of the ridiculous play. When the point is reached, if it be reached in the affirmative, Reed tells the House to stand up and ratify some feature of the scheme. If it be any other proposition, and a negative result be wanted, he tells the House to stand up and condemn it. The House stands up. Then he tells the House to sit down. The House sits down. The outcry of the minority is met with a sneer. Perhaps it is met with a bit of second-hand sarcasm which is sent to the public as golden wit by the plutocratic press on the morrow. And the public has been taught to laugh at it as something funny !

He who looks down from the gallery upon this scene, so humiliating, so destructive of our republican liberties, would suppose that the play could not go further. He would suppose that there would be an instantaneous insurrection and rebellion against the established despotism. He would suppose that honest men (and there are many such, very many, in the House) would rise in angry revolt against this notorious tyranny, and that they would overthrow the tyrant in a day. Indeed there are constant symptoms of such insurrection. Not a week passes when the electrical flashes of a patriotic revolt may not be seen along the horizon and the mutterings be heard of distant thunder. It is an open secret that many members of the Republican majority in the

House of Representatives fume in their impotent rage against the depotism that has been established over them. They get together in the cloak-rooms and the committee rooms and exchange with each other the sentiment and purpose of revolt. They declare that they will endure the present system no longer. They clinch their fists and secretly swear with uplifted arms, like the Rutuli in their Alpine meadow, that they will face the despot and break down his throne. But on the morrow they go back into the House, and the same shameless drama is reënacted. The inchoate revolutionists do not rise; that is, they do not rise until the tsar tells them to stand. Then they rise. They not only rise, but they remain standing until he tells them to sit; and then they sit. The storm of the minority goes for nothing. As soon as the adjournment is reached the newspaper correspondents flash it over a thousand wires to the offices of as many plutocratic newspapers that Speaker Reed has again handled the House most skilfully.

This is not exaggeration, but fact. It is literal fact; it is a part of the history of our day. It is infamously true that the Speaker of the House of Representatives, as the executive of a party organization, having not the mass of the American people but the party ring at his back, has seized the legislative authority of this nation, and that he wields it as he will. He has usurped the rights and prerogatives of the people's representatives. He has converted them into mere pawns which he moves about and arranges just as he will. He is a tolerably skillful player. He has been able thus far to keep the game in hand. In the national House of Representatives no one has any rights which he will respect—no one but himself and "the Gentleman from Maine."

With this emperor the plutocracy is wonderfully delighted. He is their man. They know him, and they boast of him to the ends of the earth. They put him forward as an example of how popular opinion may be perverted into despotic cant. They recognize him as a champion that may be depended upon to do their bidding. What we desire is that the American people also may know him, and may understand his system of government; and what we desire, after that, is to see

both him and his system hurled from power and sent to their own place by the popular will at no distant day. What we want is the restitution of the Republic. What we want is the recovery of our democratic institutions from the base clutch of the powers that now hold them in thrall. What we want is such a sweeping verdict by the people as will reconquer the House of Representatives and bring back its original character, with the assurance that when its character shall be once restored its splendid history will come back also. And with this will come the hope of a better day for the American people.

The real purpose of the present paper has respect to the impending elections throughout the Union. The year 1898 offers to the people one more opportunity to secure themselves against the further destruction of their liberties. It is certain that if the people, the great citizenship of this Republic, shall awake to a knowledge and appreciation of the actual condition of affairs in the country and to the swift-flying tendency of these affairs towards an imperial despotism, they will bring by their decision a sudden end to the dynasty which is now enthroned at Washington City. I repeat, my countrymen, that the *opportunity* now returns to you to remedy the evils with which you have been so long oppressed.

Already the minority in the House of Representatives is strongly and patriotically contending for the mastery. It is a reputable minority. It has been doing valiant service in the cause of the people. It has been fighting, not a victorious, but a brave battle in the interests of American democracy. Only a small reënforcement to the ranks of the minority—only a small subtraction from the ranks of the majority, already broken by a feud which involves fully fifty of its best men—will transfer the control of the House to the party of the people.

Under what party name this control shall come does not greatly concern us. O ye Democrats, ye Populists, ye Silver Republicans, ye Single-Taxers and Direct Legislationists, ye Radicals, ye Free Lances of what kind and name so ever, rally to your country's standard; divide not, but unite in a common cause, and you will be invincible! You will gain the victory. You will recover your House of Representatives,

and you will, as I hope, convert it from being the agent of despotism and malevolence into an agent of Republican democracy, of humanity, of universal reform.

Is it sufficient that the people shall recover the House of Representatives? Is it sufficient that in the fall of 1898 they shall elect a working majority in that body? Does it suffice that they shall put a despot out of authority and put a patriot into the seat which he has so long and so perniciously occupied? Nay, nay; that is not enough. Look at the situation of affairs. Look at the substantial, patriotic Senate. Look at the vote of that body on the 28th of January on the gold-bug resolution of Henry Cabot Lodge. How many votes did the oligarchs get for that measure? Not a third! Mark it well, my countrymen, they could not muster a third of the Senate for the proposition to compel the American people to transact their business and to discharge their debts by the single standard of gold. Remember too that the proposition of Senator Lodge was exactly and essentially a Republican measure. In offering that resolution Lodge was acting as the mouthpiece of the Republican party. Therefore, a two-thirds' majority can be commanded in the Senate for those great measures of reform for which the nation is waiting with hope deferred.

A small working majority in the House of Representatives on legislation in the next congressional session, however reformatory its character and however heartily endorsed by the Senate, will meet at the hands of the administration the rebuff of a veto. Suppose, however, that the veto shall be of no effect; what then? If the people shall elect two-thirds of the next House of Representatives, leaving only one-third, or less than a third, to be chosen by the enemy, by the money power, by the corporations, by the trusts and the banks, then what will become of Mr. McKinley's vetoes?

On a certain occasion in 1878 we had a contingency of this kind. The Republican party was in power. It had the administration, and it had Congress; but the administration, acting under the dictation of the incipient plutocrats, vetoed the Bland-Allison bill, and the veto was taken back to the two houses to be crushed without a single word of debate under a three-fourths' majority of both branches. That was

something worth while; that was something to be recorded in the political history of the United States.

How much greater would be the triumph of the people if an overwhelming majority of the next House of Representatives should be elected in accordance with the dictates of patriotism and on the principle that the American Republic is still something worthy to preserve. In that event there would be music that the outside world might hear with astonishment if not with joy. In that event the measures originating in the House would be approved by the Senate, and the measures of the Senate would be approved by the House. The two Houses would stand together in promoting with swift and salutary legislation every honorable and patriotic cause. Of a certainty Mr. McKinley would veto all this. The money power will die hard. The oligarchy of Wall Street will struggle and expend millions before assenting to its own funeral. But if the people at the ensuing elections can prevail by such overwhelming majorities as to carry more than two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the United States—as they can easily do if they rally in their might—then their verdict will be to the present administration and to all similar organizations that may get into power in the United States, the Mene Tekel of a swift and sudden end.

Never before in our history has a more auspicious opportunity been presented; never before have the lines of duty been so straight before the feet of the people. Never before have great opportunities for the promotion of the public good, for redemption from impending imperialism, and from all the curse of pride and evil in high places, been so auspiciously presented to the citizenship of this great nation. Seize the opportunity, my countrymen, as you would seize the rope flung to you, half-wrecked and beaten against the rocks of a lee shore. Seize the opportunity. Reconquer from your enemy the House of Representatives! Do whatever you can by your verdict in 1898 to give a new sense to the phrase "national honor," and a new lease of life and power to our democratic institutions.

## EDWARD BELLAMY.

May 23, 1898.

BY WINWOOD WAITT.

The newer day has dawned for him;  
The prophet of the greater good  
Has joined a nobler brotherhood.

No court of saints or seraphim,  
No city of ail-blissful peace,  
Allured his spirit's glad release.

He thrust aside the mystic veil  
And found, beyond Death's "dust to dust,"  
Convened the Council of the Just.

On planes of keener consciousness,  
With poet, sage, and earnest seer,  
He scans the fabric patterned here.

"Hail and well met!" The greeting given,  
With native, unassuming grace  
He holds with these the chosen place,

Wherein his ampler scope of mind  
And broadened vision yet shall span  
The perfect brotherhood of man—

The ripe fruition of a dream  
To crown the toil of centuries!  
A social apotheosis!

## THRESCORE AND TEN.

BY ETHEL MAC NISH.

And Life and Death fought for the mastery over a man.  
And Death said to Life, " Give me the man."  
And Life cried, " No! he is mine; he is my plaything."  
But suddenly the man himself rose and smote Life.

"**H**ENRY!"

"Yassir."

"Have you delivered those parcels?"

"Yas, Mr. Morrison."

"Hum—yes. Tell John Bruce I want him."

"Yassir."

The colored youth grinned and disappeared.

The man who stepped in was a man of nearly seventy years. He was quite gray and slightly stooped. His denim overalls and smock were spotted with grease from the machinery. It was a rugged, honest, but somewhat anxious face that was turned to the manager of the foundry. Mr. Morrison looked up.

"Oh, it's you, Bruce. I merely wanted to tell you that we won't be wanting you after the 30th."

"Sir?" The old man's hand sought a near chair for support.

"I believe I was quite plain. Your work of late has not been quite satisfactory. You're a little behind the times. See? So we've got another man for your place."

"But, Mr. Morrison"—he began.

"Now, John, I know all the old arguments. Now, you know you'll be living on your money," jocularly. "No, we've no other job just now. You'll get your pay till the 30th. Good-morning."

"Good-morning, sir."

As John Bruce went back to his work he tried to take it in. He was dismissed! And Jessie sick at home! He was dismissed! No work to come to in the morning. He saw the old tools, the scraps of iron lying around, the familiar drill

and work-table through a blur of tears. There was an odd, hard lump in his throat. Slowly and mechanically was the iron-repair work done that afternoon.

John walked home wearily. He must not let this worry Jessie,—Jessie who was sick, and who bore it so patiently. He went along with his head down. He had had ten years added to his life that day. He stopped a minute to rest at the gate. He saw the little cottage which had been their home for so long, and which they had hoped to buy. The garden to the right looked so pretty. How fresh the green of the potatoes and the silvery leaves of the little cabbages looked in the June twilight! Then the old man turned into the house, and right through to the bedroom at the back.

“Well, Jessie!” with a kiss for the pale, faded face on the pillow. “Better to-night?”

“Oh yes, John,” a sweet voice answered. “Mrs. Bascome was in such a long time to-day. She made a meat pie for your dinner. It’s in the oven. You’d better get it before it gets cold.”

But he stood looking at her. His news would get no sweeter by keeping.

“What’s wrong, John?” she questioned, vaguely disturbed by his look.

“Nothing, dear. Only next week I’ll be having holidays.”

“Oh, John!”

“Never mind, Jessie; I’ll soon get another place. I’m good for lots of work yet, little woman.”

“Dismissed! What happened? What did they do it for?”

John sat down and took one of the white hands in his own rough brown ones.

“I’m an old man, Jessie dear, though you are so pretty and young yet. Your man’s not young, you see.”

It was not the faded, drawn face, framed by rapidly whitening hair that the old man saw. He looked down through her eyes and saw but the blooming girl he had married.

“It’s a shame!” began Jessie, rising—

“There now, hush! Lie down quiet, or I’ll be sorry I told you. I tell you it won’t be two days till I have another job.”

Thus he comforted her, but not himself.

"Well, John," said the foreman on the night of the thirtieth, "sorry you're going. Got another job?"

The old man shook his head.

"Jobs are hard to get these days."

"Seems too bad," the foreman remarked to the next foreman, "to turn him off just when he's getting old. He's been iron-helper here ever since I came, and that's fourteen year this June."

"Yes, and he can't have much saved. You remember when the four children died; and his missis as good as a cripple! Poor fellow!"

So John Bruce dropped out of the old life.

The next Monday the quest started. It was not easy for a man of his age to go from shop to shop asking for work.

"What can you do?" was asked him.

"Iron-work, fix machinery or tools; but I'll do anything."

"We have nothing for you to-day. Good-morning."

Again, though rarely, he would find sympathy.

"Sorry, my man. You see, younger men are wanted. Too bad for a man of your age to be hunting work. Still, we have all the hands we need."

Just before noon he entered a large factory. A young man sat at a desk reading a paper.

"Well?"

John stated his errand. The man took in his age, his weariness, and his evident need with one contemptuous glance.

"Our men are all engaged. Besides, it's workmen we want, not paupers."

John drew himself up. "It was work I asked for," he answered with slow anger.

"And if," he continued to himself, looking back at the buzzing smoking factory,—"if I should starve he would not put out one hand to help me. Yet that is the man who built the new wing to the hospital, and gives thousands to charity. It is strange."

Disheartened, he turned toward home. Jessie was waiting with flushed cheek.

"Well, what luck?"

"Better to-morrow, Jessie. Give me my two days."

And he had his two days, till they grew to weeks—weeks in their heart-sickening weariness as long as years. His pay was gone. Their tiny savings were going rapidly. Sickness is a hundred-mouthed monster for money. Besides, medicine and dainties are dear in the city in the summer; and Jessie had no appetite for common food.

“John,” she would ask, when he brought her meals to her, “have you had a good meal?”

“Dined down town,” he would say with a grim smile.

This meant a bun eaten with a drink of water in the Park. But with all his care Jessie did not seem to gain. John saw that she worried, and he strove in many ways to set her mind at rest. So when at last he got a couple of days’ work sawing wood, he determined not to let his wife know when it ended. So each morning, after tidying the tiny kitchen, he would come in to kiss her good-bye. They could not now afford a woman to do the work.

“I’m off to work. Don’t be lonesome. I’ll ask one of the neighbors to look in.”

“Thank you, John. Good-bye.”

Then he would fix her comfortably, put her medicine and bit of fancy-work within reach, and leave. But when he got to the hall-door he would softly set his dinner-pail in the entry and slip off—to hunt work.

But this farce brought no money. Jessie must have food and medicine, whatever happened. So piece by piece the furniture was taken quietly from the dining-room; then from the little parlor that Jessie had taken such pride in. John cried as he lifted out the little sofa they had bought together.

“O God,” he cried, biting his fingers so that Jessie might not hear—“O God! I ask nothing for myself. Give me nothing but work—the hardest work. So long as it keeps Jessie, I will starve. O God, Jessie must not feel it.”

But both crying and praying were in vain. He must not waste strength crying. Besides, Jessie might see.

Day after day the struggle went on. The heat was suffocating. The old man grew faint and discouraged and well-nigh frantic. Jessie grew weaker. The weather and worry told on her. She failed visibly.

One long, hot day John had been seeking work all day. He had almost given up expecting it; still he went on with a dogged persistence. He had even begged for some fruit for Jessie. But he got neither work nor fruit. Steal he would not, though the thought entered his mind many a time.

Weak from hunger, and wild from failure and fear for Jessie, he staggered home. There was a strange pain at his heart. It was there often now. His head throbbed. He felt as a man does who knows he is going insane. He tottered through the dismantled house to Jessie. But Jessie was already past the pain, and want, and suffering. He looked at her dully and uncomprehendingly.

On the pinched face of the dead woman there was peace unutterable; on the old man's a dazed despair.

With a cry as that of an animal at bay, he staggered from the room, and out toward the river—

Toronto, Canada.

## THE EDITOR'S EVENING.

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### THE IDEAL LITERATURE.

**T**HERE is now in active eruption in the United States the most ideal literature that was ever produced.

Hitherto the literary faculty in man has required some small basis of fact out of which to evolve its products. The law of letters, as well as the law of science, has demanded a thing to begin with. He who would write and go to the public has been under the necessity of having *something* as a starter—something that is not nothing. Now the law is reversed and he may both start with nothing and end with it.

The conditions for the evolution of a literature on this basis have been carefully prepared. The preparation has been most careful in those countries most blessed with puny politics, puffed plutocracy, and pusillanimous privilege. The three things last named go excellently well together. In the United States they not only go well, but they flourish. One of the consequences is that the old-fashioned scholarly, fact-founded, truth-dealing literature has given place to the new, ideal, factless, truthless, slopful, lurid literature of the American newspaper.

The war with Spain has been as the June sun in opening the new literary blossom of perfect and infinite mendacity to the caresses of public intelligence. The public is now drinking in the ideal literature by bucketfuls and hogsheads. Day by day comes the demand for more. If the Atlantic should be converted into one liquid lie it could not satisfy the demand. Every morning the people, inflamed with drinking falsehood, would rush down to the shore in order to get another schoonerful apiece.

Note what the people are reading. Lies! The streets are a-flutter from dawn to starrise with flying sheets that are notoriously filled with lies. The subject-matter of these sheets, issued sixteen times a day and purposely dated six hours after the time of delivery, is known in the offices from which they are spawned to be a tissue of lies.

Never before was such an opportunity given for this unutterable business. The world is in commotion and transformation. Things, at best, are seen through a glass darkly. Therefore why should anyone undergo the hardship and thankless toil of finding and telling the truth? The American and Spanish fleets are on the seas. Why undergo the labor of finding out where they are and what they are doing? Why wait until the squadron arrives before describing the bombardment? Truth is so tedious!

Where our flotillas are need not be investigated, since it can be divined. A telescope is not needed, since a lead pencil will do as well. True, the position and course of our fleets are not known and cannot be ascertained. Still more occult and inaccessible are the places and courses of the enemy's fleets; but we can obviate this matter with a map and a scratch-book. We will bring the fleets together *here*, and then say, "It is reported." That will do for one day!

As a matter of fact only the participants know what our ships and armaments are doing. What the plans and purposes of the naval commanders may be is of course carefully concealed; otherwise the war would be preposterous. A necessary censorship has been established to prevent the newspapers from giving hourly intelligence to the enemy. For the sake of selling an edition they would any hour give away their country's cause. The spy who does this is caught and hanged; therefore he is careful and continent. To be continent in the matter of informing the enemy is a virtue unknown in the offices of the journalistic scavengers who pour their scoopfuls of falsehood into every street-car and on every breakfast table in the land. Oh, it is news indeed!

The government has been obliged to protect itself against the work of this vermin. The "journalists" are therefore driven to fall upon the production of an ideal literature. It is a work exactly suited to their capacities. They have practised their business until it has become a profession and a habit. They constitute the "press," and they have the public for their dependents and victims.

A large percentage of the boys in the great cities are now engaged in the daily dispensation of the ideal literature.

Even they know that what they scatter is lies, but that is the way they live. Each lie sells for a penny. If the letters be four inches long instead of two inches long, then the lie will bring two pennies. On Sunday it will bring five pennies or even seven pennies. A lie is so much better on Sunday!

This is now the bottom principle of American journalism: *The more inflammation the greater the profit!* The more lurid the falsehood, the larger the edition. The more widely the disease can be disseminated the greater will be the gain of the undertakers and the burkers.

As to the disease-makers, what about them? I am disposed to praise them. According to the standard of the age they ought to be praised; for they are adept and successful. Their skill is so far-reaching as to excuse their ignorance. Their want of scruple compensates for their lack of ethics. With commercialism nothing is immoral.

The ability of the lie-makers of journalism is something really sublime. They have succeeded in reducing public intelligence to their own level; and men who can do that are prodigies. The reader has become like the lie-maker who gives him his daily bread. The lie-maker grasps the world. Being in the eleventh story of a metropolitan newspaper office at 12.30 A. M. he dates his special despatch from Key West, from San Juan, from the Venezuelan coast, from the Azores, from Spitzbergen, according to the exigency. He moves the Spanish fleets wherever he will. He makes them as inaccessible as possible in order that the other lie-maker cannot find them. He divides the flotilla or concentrates it or sends it to the bottom according to the demands of his fiction and the suggestions of his bottle. His geography is miraculous, his hydrography impossible. His impenetrable ignorance of conditions is betrayed in every line, but that is an accomplishment in a country where the newspaper disease is raging. Ignorance is to the newspaper disease what dirt is to typhus.

"Our war correspondent," who has just come in on one of the six hundred despatch boats which Mr. Bennett has sent out on all the oceans, flying like so many albatrosses with out-spread wings written all over with headlines, proceeds to fix

up the great international play for the readers of the midnight edition (issued and hawked before sundown) just to suit their tastes. He can do this, for he is the maker of their tastes. He is also the surveyor of their intelligence. He begins by putting Cuba in the Bermudas. He locates the Philippines outside the harbor of Cadiz. The rival lie-maker, however, sets the Philippines between Jamaica and Puerto Rico. He brings the Oregon safely home by way of Gibraltar and the Skager Rack. He sinks a whole armament in the midnight edition, in order to bring it up at 2.30 in the morning. He scatters men and nations with an ease and recklessness which his readers must regard as an evidence of supreme genius. And yet—strange paradox!—the world does not even know his name!

The newspaper lie-maker presumes to know the minds and purposes of all presidents, priests, and kings. To him all secretaries of state, all generals, and particularly all admirals are so many open books. He reads them every day. They tell him everything—for they are his intimate friends. He hears from them by special message and courier. Then he writes his chapter of the ideal literature and sends it up to the composing room with special notes to the headliner. This done he looks at his watch and takes the elevator, leaving Key West, Cienfuegos, and the Yucatan passage in the eleventh story. There they will remain in a state of gestation until to-morrow. When the morrow comes the ideal literature will be continued.

After all, how do the American people like this kind of thing? Of course, if they like it they ought to have it. In that event "the press" will supply the demand. If the people like this kind of thing, they ought to have it more abundantly; for that will bring the matter to a crisis. And what will the crisis of this disease be? In the nature of the case the ideal literature will reach a crisis, and then the patient will either improve or die in a spasm. In either event what will become of the lie-maker?

Meanwhile, let us look upon the ideal literature as something with which a great many people are pleased and not a

few are satisfied—just as a drunkard is satisfied with his last quart of *spiritus frumenti*.

#### HOW NATURE PROMOTES EQUALITY.

What is the primary condition of equality? Freedom. Every conscious thing has, under the laws of evolution, perfected itself according to the freedom of its powers. Those creatures that have desired to fly, and have been free to fly, have flown. The swimmer has come by swimming, by wanting to swim, and by freedom to swim. The walker walks, and walks well, in proportion as he has been permitted to walk freely. The talker has talked and the singer has sung according to the talk-hunger and the song-passion set free to work out their own results.

The end of this process is equality; that is, it is equality for the various kinds of creatures that have desired the same things and have had the same freedom to attain them. The two hands get equal when they have the same ambitions, the same discipline, and the same liberty. But when either hand is obstructed, hampered, or denied, it becomes unlike the other in power and facility; that is, unequal to it.

Strange that the left hand, with palm upturned, should be such a paragon of nimble agility on the fingerboard of a violin and with downturned palm such a dummy on the keyboard of a piano! Equally strange that the right hand, with downturned palm, should so astonish with its swiftness and skill on the piano keys and be such a clumsy apparatus when upturned on the neck of the violin! And why? Simply because long adaptation to certain physical conditions and to certain modes of action has nerved the body through with what may be called hereditary streaks of art. The left hand has become artless in certain positions and artful in other positions, and the right hand is like it with a reversal of aptitudes.

This law of being first free and then equal is universal. It lies at the bottom of the controversy about the equality of powers, the equality of actions, and the equality of privileges and immunities between the sexes. Given the same desires and the same freedom, and equality will inevitably come. In

so far as the like desire and the like liberty have existed, equality has come already.

Which is the better singer? Is it the man or the woman? It is the woman. No man, as a singer, has ever equalled Jenny Lind or Patti. Which has been the better orator? The man. No woman, as an orator, has ever equalled Demosthenes or Sheridan or Ingersoll. But *why* does the woman outsing the man? and *why* does the man outspeak the woman? It is simply a question of desire, of facility by practice, of the hereditary streak created by freedom to do the given thing. Woman has been free to sing and man has been free to speak. For singing the woman has been applauded, and for speaking she has been satirized. She has responded to both stimuli. Man has been applauded for speaking and called effeminate for singing. His character has been formed under both influences. He has been free to speak, but not free to sing. She has been free to sing, but not free to speak. Hence the hereditary streaks in each. Make them equally free and they will be freely equal. As long as woman blossoms under praise and wilts under ridicule, as long as man responds to the stimulus of applause and cowers under sarcasm, as long as freedom and immunity are not conceded to both equally to do *all* proper things freely according to their desires and ambitions, the hereditary streaks of action and art and privilege will continue to prevent equality.

Equality comes by freedom. All creatures will be equal when they are free—each in his order and according to his kind.

## THE ARENA FOR AUGUST.

Our friends and readers will recognize in the current number of **THE ARENA** — the first of a new volume — the ideal magazine.

We take pleasure in announcing that the Editor, Dr. John Clark Ridpath, will occupy the leading place in the August **ARENA**, with one of his characteristic and powerful articles. Our frontispiece for that number will be a portrait of Dr. Ridpath from his latest photograph. It will bear his autograph, and will be printed on extra heavy coated paper, suitable for framing. These features of the number, together with the powerful and timely contribution by B. O. Flower, will render it perhaps the most desirable ever issued from the **ARENA** office.

### **The Proposed Federation of the Anglo-Saxon Nations.**

This is a pointed and timely discussion of the proposed Federation of the English-speaking world. Mr. Flower brings to the discussion the strength and forceful method of presentation which has done so much towards placing him among the most popular critics of present-day problems. He takes a strong position in favor of the proposed alliance, holding that both social conditions and the republican ideal of government will be greatly advanced by such a union. He points out the fact that continental Europe, not excepting France, is under the spell of Absolutism, while England and America stand essentially for popular sovereignty and free government. He anticipates the objection that England is monarchal, and asks some knotty questions which will not please the trust magnates and the exploiters of American citizens, who divert attention from the centralizing and despotic tendencies of government when dominated by the corporations by crying Republic! Republic! as did the Medici family in mediæval Florence when that republic was being enslaved. He shows also that in some respects the sovereign of England is less powerful than the President of the United States, while he points out how steady during the last fifty years has been the course of England toward freer government, while in many ways we have retrograded. He urges that not only Democrats and Republicans but also Socialists and the Irish should seek to promote such a union, if for no other motives than those of self-interest; while the larger reasons clearly point to the desirability of the alliance.

### **The Criminal Responsibility of the Insane.**

The author of this valuable paper, F. E. Daniel, M. D., makes out a strong plea in favor of a change in the law with regard to lunatics who have committed crimes, and suggests taking a more lenient view of the moral responsibility of such persons. The paper is based mainly on a recent murder trial in Austin, Texas, in which the accused, Eugene Burt, pleaded insanity, but was nevertheless found guilty and executed.

### **The Misuse of Injunctions.**

James W. Stillman has made a special study of the law relating to this question. He strongly upholds the view set forth in the Chicago platform of 1896. The article will be found instructive and of much value.

### **The Churches and Social Questions: a Symposium.**

The first paper is **Manhood in the Pulpit**, by Rev. George W. Buckley. The article calls for less optimism in the pulpit and more courage ("manhood") on the part of the clergy in dealing with the burning sociological questions of the day.

The second paper is **The Religious Press and Social Reforms**,

by Robert E. Bisbee. It is an arraignment of the religious press of this country, which, the author contends, deals almost exclusively with such unimportant topics as clerical "news," gossip, and tittle-tattle, the woes of the heathen, mediæval arguments on the second advent, the millennium, etc., while the crying needs of the people and the burning questions of the day — such as socialism — are ignored.

The third and last paper is **The Church and the Masses**, by T. S. Lonergan, in which is pointed out the gulf between the churches and the working classes, which is growing wider as time goes on. The writer contends that this is the fault of the churches, because these have become plutoeratic institutions and preach antiquated theological dogmas instead of dealing with the important questions of the hour.

We have no hesitation in saying that this symposium is unique, and that it should be of vital interest to all true reformers.

#### **The Extirpation of Consumption.**

In this paper Dr. Lincoln Cothran proposes a plan for the extirpation of consumption from the earth, namely, to treat consumptives as lepers are treated, by establishing them in colonies apart from the rest of the community, and so preserving the general community from infection.

#### **Japanese Home Life as Contrasted with American.**

Mr. Chujiro Kochi, a Japanese residing in the United States, in this paper contrasts American domestic life, especially American women, with Japanese. He views sundry American manners and customs from a novel standpoint, and his article is instructive as well as amusing.

#### **The American Girl: her Faults and her Virtues.**

Mrs. Rhodes Campbell in this paper is very outspoken about the growing generation of girls in this country, affirming that many if not most of them seem to have only two ideas, dress and beaus. She also affirms that they are becoming ill-mannered, self-willed, and selfish; that they are given up to pleasure and have a distaste for home duties. On the other hand, the author points out the American girl's characteristic virtues, her independence, self-reliance, etc. This important and timely subject will command the earnest attention of our readers.

#### **Socrates, Philosopher, Seer, and Martyr.**

Mr. B. O. Flower's regular monthly contribution is an exceptionally interesting study of the life and teachings of the famous Greek philosopher Socrates. This sketch will prove a liberal education to all who know of the greatest of all philosophers, but who have not made a study of his life. The paper is written in the author's lighter vein, and contains matter that one would have to consult many books to find.

#### **The Editor's Evening.**

In "The Editor's Evening" Dr. Ridpath will give a character study of the late reformer, Edward Bellamy, dealing specially with his general attitude towards human society such as it is at the close of the nineteenth century. To all who have read the famous books, "Looking Backward" and "Equality," and who have been interested in their author's reform work, this tribute will be welcome.

Other topics of interest will be treated in this department.

#### **Fiction.**

Lovers of fiction will find a story and some well-selected poetry.